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ABSTRACT

Different aspects of German-American heritage in Minnesota are highlighted in this collection of conference papers and photographs. The articles included are: "The German Contribution to the Discovery, Exploration and Early Settlement of the Americas" (H. Galinsky); "Three Literary Aspects of the German in America: Immigrant, Homeland, and American Views" (H. Galinsky); "The German Language Press in Minnesota" (G. H. Weiss); "Der Wanderer of St. Paul: An Overview of the First Years" (J. Kulas); "German-American Banking in Minnesota" (L. J. Rippley); "Minnesota's Germans and the Civil War" (J. C. Wolkerstorfer); "German Clubs and Social Organizations" (P. A. Schons); "Greetings from the Federal Republic of Germany: An Overview" (O. von Siegfried); "The Development of a German-American Priesthood: The Benedictines and St. Paul Diocesan Clergy, 1851-1930" (D. P. O'Neill); "German Lutherans in Minnesota: 1845-1910" (K. J. Fink); "German Jews in Minnesota: 1845-1910" (M. J. Chiat and C. Proshan); "German Language Experience: Die Wandertour" (N. Benzel); "Mathilda Tolksdorf and Daniel Shillock: A German-American Frontier Family Experience" (J. C. Massmann); "The Challenges of German Genealogical Research" (F. S. Dearden); and "German Immigration to the United States as a Social Protest" (G. Moltmann). The work concludes with an index and photo index. (APG)

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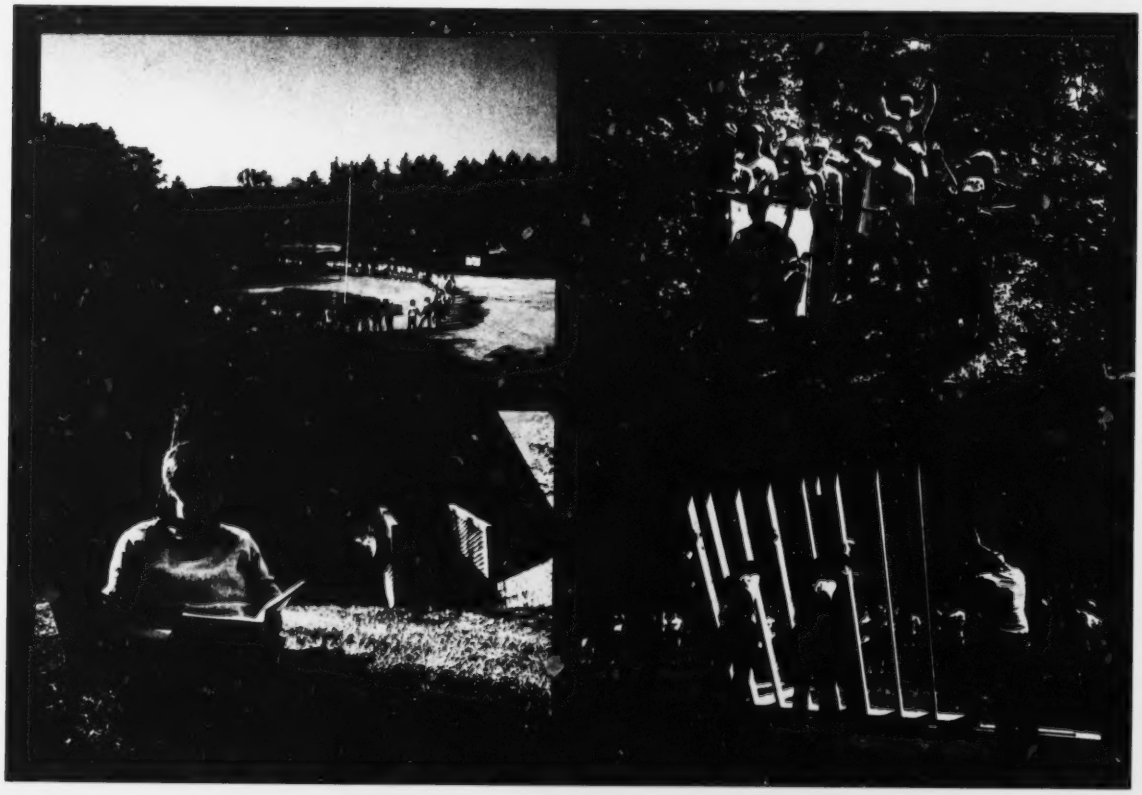

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A HERITAGE FULFILLED: GERMAN-AMERICANS

DIE ERFÜLLTE HERKUNFT

Edited by Clarence A. Glasrud

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SPECIAL THANKS

A special thanks to Lutheran Brotherhood for publishing this volume and to the Minnesota Humanities Commission, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Minnesota State Legislature for funding the conference which generated the papers.

Cover photos:

Against the background of the Speisesaal, or dining hall, villagers and staff of Waldsee, the German Language Village of Concordia College, join hands and sing each morning during *Flaggenhissen* (flag raising).

The Waldsee flag, displayed here by villagers and staff, incorporates in its design various elements of German culture. The three oak leaves and acorns represent the countries of Germany, Austria and Switzerland. The leaves suggest the history and traditions of those countries, while the acorns point to the future, both concerns of Waldsee programming. In German mythology, the oak tree was regarded as the home of Donar, the god of thunder, and the temple of Wotan, the king of the gods.

The Institute of German Studies, an experience-based program at the college level, is held at Waldsee during the academic year. With the Schwarzwald-Haus, a cultural residence in which the Institute is held, in the background, an Institute student enjoys the warmth of a fall day.

At special ceremonies during International Day on August 17, 1984, the first section of the wall of the Max Kade Center for German Studies was raised. The Center will provide a second major cultural residence for Institute and summer Language Village programming. Funding for the facility was provided by a $300,000 grant from the Max Kade Foundation in New York.

Papers in this volume were written for a Conference, A Heritage Fulfilled: German Americans, held in Minneapolis on September 29, 1983.

Preface by Odell M. Bjerkness and Christian Skjervold, Co-directors of the Conference.

Table of Contents

	Page
Preface — *Odell M. Bjerkness and Christian K. Skjervold*	4
Introduction — *Clarence A. Glasrud*	7
The German Contribution to the Discovery, Exploration and Early Settlement of the Americas — *Hans Galinsky*	22
Three Literary Aspects of the German in America: Immigrant, Homeland, and American Views — *Hans Galinsky*	36
The German Language Press in Minnesota — *Gerhard H. Weiss*	47
***Der Wanderer* of St. Paul: An Overview of the First Years** — *Father John Kulas, O.S.B.*	64
German-American Banking in Minnesota — *LaVern J. Rippley*	94
Minnesota's Germans and the Civil War — *Sister John Christine Wolkerstorfer, C.S.J.*	116
German Clubs and Social Organizations — *Paul A. Schons*	133
Greetings from the Federal Republic of Germany: An Overview — *Dr. Oskar von Siegfried, Consul General of the Federal Republic of Germany, Chicago*	142
The Development of a German-American Priesthood: The Benedictines and St. Paul Diocesan Clergy, 1851-1930 — *Daniel P. O'Neill*	145
German Lutherans in Minnesota: 1845-1910 — *Karl J. Fink*	156
German Jews in Minnesota: 1845-1910 — *Marilyn J. Chiat and Chester Proshan*	168
German Language Experience: *Die Wandertour* — *Norbert Benzel*	182
Mathilda Tolksdorf and Daniel Shillock: A German- American Frontier Family Experience — *John C. Massmann*	196
The Challenges of German Genealogical Research — *Fay S. Dearden*	211
German Immigration to the United States as a Social Protest — *Günter Moltmann*	225
Index	229
Photo Index	237

Günther van Well, who has been the West German representative to the United Nations, is now the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United States.

THE AMBASSADOR
OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Washington, D.C.,
October 16, 1984

Es freut mich sehr, dieser wichtigen Veröffentlichung meine guten Wünsche auf den Weg geben zu können.

Political and religious freedom and the hope of economic opportunity were some of the most important reasons for those more than six million Germans who, in the course of the last three centuries, chose to seek a new home in North America. Today, about one in four Americans, over 50 million people, claim German ancestry.

I commend this book to anyone interested in the history of the United States of America and in the evolution of the American multi-ethnic society. I would like to also praise the scholarly dedication of the editors and the authors of this fine publication. May it further strengthen the traditional German-American understanding and partnership.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen an die Bürger in Minnesota.

Günther van Well
Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany
in Washington

Preface

In 1980 the United States government took its decennial measure of the American people. For the first time in its long history, the census asked questions regarding the national or ethnic origin of the people, no matter the number of generations removed from the time of immigration. The results of the 1980 Census show that English and German were the most frequently reported ancestry groups. About 50 million reported being solely or partly of English ancestry; German or part German accounted for 49 million persons, this being out of a total population of some 226 and a half million, in which 83% of the population reported on their ancestry. Germans, then, are a close second to the English in total numbers within the population of the United States.

When we look at the statistics for Minnesota, we have perhaps an even more surprising find. Minnesota has a national and even international reputation as the Land of 10,000 Lakes, each lake being surrounded by Norwegians and Swedes. Our state is viewed as a Scandinavia located in the heartland of the United States. The popular media has helped to foster this conception, and the summer months in Minnesota seem to be replete with festivals which celebrate the area's Scandinavian heritage. However, the heritage reality of Minnesota is considerably different than the media presentations.

We have, in previous conferences, pointed out that Minnesota has a larger number of Germans than any other single ethnic group. Even though Minnesota as a state ranks first in the number of Norwegians, second in the number of Swedes, and third in the number of Danes in the United States, these three groups together do not equal persons of German ancestry. If one adds Icelanders and Finns to include all the Nordic nations ancestry groups, the number still falls short of Germans. In 1980 Minnesota reported a total population of 4,075,970; of that number 3,723, 921 reported at least one specific ancestry, and 1,767,770 specified German as a component of their ethnic make-up.

The words of a German folk tune about emigration in the last century say "our German brothers will find naught but their grave in America." This did not come true. Rather, they found in America a land where they could, to paraphrase Scripture, "go forth, be fruitful and multiply." From the humble beginnings in 1683 when 13 families from Krefeld - Mennonites and Quakers - set sail, German immigration added some seven million people to a growing nation.

At the time of the American Revolution there were approximately 225,000 German Americans. This was about 8 to 9 percent of the total population of the rebellious British Colonies. After the Revolution, immigration flowered. The largest influx of Germans took place between 1814 and 1914, during which time some five and a half million Germans emigrated to the United States. In the period since the first World War, another million and a half Germans have come to the United States.

In the 300 years of German immigration to the United States, there have perhaps been as many different motives for emigration as there have been immigrants. Immigrants were primarily motivated by economics, but political and religious factors also played a part. To attempt to speak of "the reason" for German immigration would be to vastly oversimplify a topic of great complexity.

First Conference in 1979

To begin to explore the issues inherent in German America, the International Language Village Program of Concordia College at Moorhead, Minnesota sponsored two conferences in the fall of 1979. These conferences, with the title, *A Heritage Deferred*, attempted to describe the German American experience through the immigrants' efforts to come to grips with the reality of the new land: their adaptation and accommodation, their efforts to make a living or learn a new language in an unfamiliar environment. The presentations stressed the cooperation fostered by common bonds, but did not overlook the competition created by the differences within the group. Many of the German-Americans were German in language only: they came from individual German states before they had been absorbed into a German nation in 1871; or they had come from the nations of Austria, Switzerland or Luxemburg.

The Earth Ball is kept aloft by International Day celebrants at the permanent facility near Bemidji. Villagers from all of the language camps take part in this non-competitive game - a part of the annual celebration that closes the language camp season.

The 1979 conferences included discussion of the effects of two World Wars, in which the "Old Country" and the adopted land were pitted against each other. These considerations were in part responsible for Germans being an "invisible majority" within their new home state. However, even though Germans seem to have blended into the population as a whole, numerous examples of "German-ness" exist within Minnesota. A third conference, held in 1982 and entitled *A Special Relationship*, brought to the attention of a broad population the important ties which have existed and continue to exist between Minnesota and the German-speaking areas of Europe. This conference brought together the academic and business communities — in a public setting — to explore those ties through art, architecture, religion, culture, trade and economics.

As a result of what had become a series of conferences, it was determined that the planners should develop a further stage, in which the most recent scholarship could be emphasized. Each of the conferences encompassed elements of historical and contemporary issues which could be viewed through a broad lens provided by several disciplines of the humanities. It was determined that a final presentation would celebrate the long history of German-American involvement in 1983, the year of the Tricentennial anniversary of organized German immigration to America. Counting the dual conference of 1979 — on October 12 in Moorhead and October 19 in St. Paul — as two conferences, *"Die Erfüllte Herkunlt: A Heritage Fulfilled"* was the fourth vehicle on German-American Heritage and Contemporary issues developed by the sponsors.

Imprint is Pervasive

Although the contribution can be only partially documented, the German American imprint on American life is pervasive. When seeing the names of American corporations such as Boeing, Heinz, Pabst, Steinway or Weyerhaeuser, who thinks of the German origin of their founders? Who realizes that Dwight D. Eisenhower, Doris Day, Lou Gehrig, Babe Ruth or Charles Schulz (creator of "Peanuts") are the names of descendants of German immigrants? The history of the United States would be poorer without their contributions. As President Ronald Reagan said in May 1981, "Millions of German immigrants have made America their home. With strong hands and good hearts, these industrious people helped build a strong and good America."

Five years ago Dell Bjerkness, Scott Kieselbach, and Paul Erickson led "Die Wandertour" bikers to the Norwegian village near Bemidji in time for the year's International Day celebration - remarkable timing since the tour had begun at Fort Snelling several weeks earlier. It was a cool, wet day (note the slicker Joann Bjerkness is wearing), but a lightly-clad Ed Magidson (back to camera) was out to urge the riders up the last hill.

Concordia College, and in particular the International Language Village Program, has a long-standing interest in and commitment to programs which foster international understanding. At *Waldsee* (the German Language Village, which had its first camp in the summer of 1961), American students are introduced to the German language through contact with teachers and native speakers of German. In the 1970s an additional impetus to an exploration of Minnesota's German heritage was provided by *Die Wandertour*, a mobile language experience, which took students

on a 500-mile tour through areas of significant German heritage in Minnesota. This innovation provided the greatest spur to the Language Village interest in the "deferred heritage." When the curriculum was being prepared for the bicycle language-culture tour, it was found that even though many areas of Minnesota are known as German, the "Germanness" was often ill defined.

A further impetus has been provided by the development and funding of an Institute for German Studies last year: Concordia College's *Institut für deutsche Studien* was selected to receive a $45,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities — one of 26 awarded nationally. Only one other foreign language program received a grant. The first of its kind anywhere, the Institute is a total-immersion educational program in German for academic credit at the college level. Offered during the academic year at the *Schwarzwald-Haus* at Concordia's International Language Villages near Bemidji, Minnesota, the Institute opened in the fall of 1983. The twin goals of language fluency and cultural understanding will be reached through experience-based learning: students acquire a fluency and command of German that no other program offers, virtually completing a German major within a nine-month period. Formal instruction is only a part of the Institute program. The total-immersion approach makes the time students spend out of class important to the achievement of their goal: *Sprachkompetenz im Deutschen* (fluency in German).

Posing in front of the *Schwarzwald-Haus* are the faculty and staff of the *Institute of German Studies;* front row, left to right, Ed Magidson, administrator; and Professors Dr. Nancy McCombs and Dr. Dorothy Robbins. In the second row are Ellen Weber, instructor; Martin Graefe, German native informant; and Leanne Benge, residence hall director.

Part of "German Fest '83"

The success of the previous conferences, the commitment to innovative language instruction, and the apparent interest in further exploration of topics relating to German-American issues led to the continuance of a planning body to develop resources for "A Heritage Fulfilled." Throughout the winter of 1982 and spring of 1983, planning went on which involved representatives of many groups and organizations. As a result of these deliberations, a plan was submitted to the Minnesota Humanities Commission for its consideration, and the resulting proposal was accepted and funded. This publication is a compendium of the academic papers and summaries of discussions presented at the Howard Johnson Motel in Bloomington on September 29, 1983, near the site of "German Fest '83." The publication of these German-Fest proceedings is made possible through the Lutheran Brotherhood and the Minnesota Humanities Commission.

Project directors for the conference were Odell Bjerkness and Christian K. Skjervold. Members of the planning committee were Odell Bjerkness, Christian K. Skjervold, Dr. LaVern Rippley, Professor of German, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, and Ms. Suzanne Jebe, Program Specialist, Modern and Classical Languages, Minnesota State Department of Education. The conference is sponsored by International Language Villages, Concordia College; International Institute of Minnesota; World Affairs Center, University of Minnesota; Minnesota Project on Ethnic America; Minnesota Chapter of the American Association of Teachers of German; Volkfest Association of Minnesota; Germania Society; and the departments of German of St. Olaf College, University of Minnesota, and Concordia College. Odell M. Bjerkness and Christian K. Skjervold were co-directors for "A Heritage Fulfilled." Bjerkness, Associate Professor of Modern Languages at Concordia College, is the director of the International Languages Villages and the May Seminars Abroad. Skjervold is a Resource Specialist in the Equal Education Support Department of the Minneapolis Public Schools and is a former president of the Upper Midwest Ethnic Studies Association.

Christian K. Skjervold
Odell M. Bjerkness
Conference Co-directors

10

Introduction

A Heritage Fulfilled, like the two volumes that preceded it, records the papers presented at a conference examining the German American presence in America. On September 29, 1983 a symposium involving German and American scholars opened a four-day ethnic festival at Bloomington, Minnesota. "Minnesota German-Fest '83" was the state's part in the nationwide observance of the tri-centennial of German immigration to America. The conference brochure referred to the motives that prompted this effort: "The primary purpose of these conferences has been to discover, evaluate, and appreciate the contributions of German-Americans. Another purpose has been to place the German-American experience in the larger context of ethnic heritage generally."

"A Heritage Fulfilled" (and its published proceedings) derives its title from the one given the first conference: "A Heritage Deferred." The latter began as a double conference, held in 1979 at Concordia College in Moorhead on October 12 and at St. Paul on October 19-20, which was organized to examine the German heritage in Minnesota and explain why the state's German-Americans had neither emphasized nor celebrated their German roots.

The success of the 1979 conference and the publication of its papers paved the way for another, which was held in Minneapolis April 22, 1982. "A Special Relationship: Germany and Minnesota, 1945-1985 "had a German co-title, *"Brücken über Grenzen: Minnesota and Bundesrepublik Deutschland."* The subsequent publication in 1983 used the same title. This book's introduction pointed out that it was a sequel to *A Heritage Deferred,* or a continuation: the first book explored the German presence in Minnesota during the first hundred years and *A Special Relationship* was concerned with the situation from 1945 to the present. Although half of the articles in the second volume reached back into the nineteenth century, emphasis was always on "the many-faceted involvement of Minnesota people, business, and institutions with present-day Germany."

Largest Ethnic Group in Minnesota

Although some of the articles in *A Heritage Deferred* revealed that a larger-than-expected percentage of the American population was of German descent, the 1980 census produced even more surprising figures — 52 million Americans claiming some German ancestry in the first census that conducted such an investigation. In Minnesota, widely known as "the Scandinavian State," Germans were found to outnumber all of the combined Scandinavian nationalities.

However, these statistics do not alter the fact that German-Americans lost their European identity and became Americanized more rapidly than other ethnic groups. German immigrants did this as a protective measure, not because they lacked feeling for the culture of their old homeland. "The two bloodiest foreign wars fought by the United States have been against Germany and its allies," the German ambassador recalled at the "Special Relationship" conference. Dr. Peter Hermes went on to assert that three decades of close cooperation since World War II had "developed a special relationship between the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany." This friendship heightens the new interest German-Americans are showing in their European heritage.

These German-Americans have much time to make up, much ground to regain. The introduction to *A Heritage Deferred* explained the situation five years ago: "Whereas the Norwegian-American Historical Association has published more than 60 volumes about Norwegians in America since 1925, there has been no similar effort among German-Americans. Their immigrant story is relatively unexplored and unrecorded."

Growing Interest in Heritage

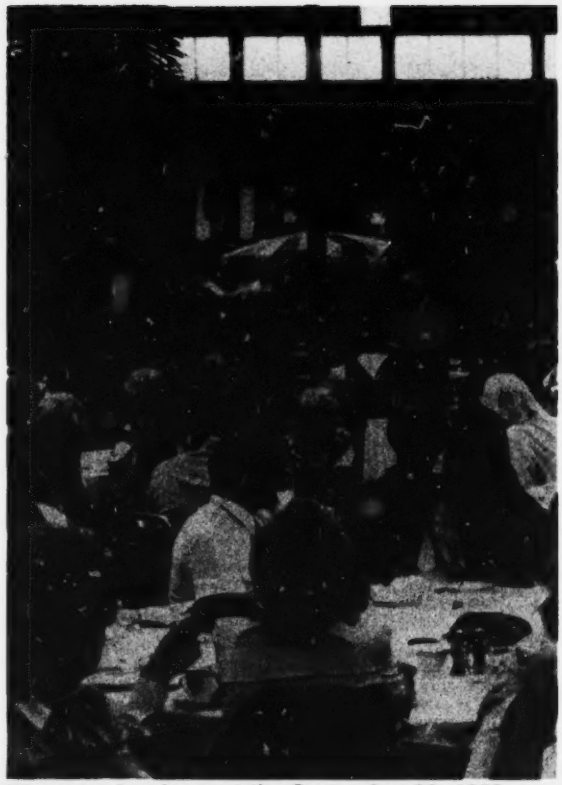
No claim is made that German-Americans have suddenly caught up or even made up for lost time, but there are signs that they have been stimulated to explore their roots and tell their immigration story. The range of symposium articles in this collection indicates that scholarly investigation is proceeding on many fronts.

These conferences tried to appeal to a wide audience. Most, but not all, of the papers have been the work of academic scholars, but they have

never been purely scholarly in tone or appeal. The "Special Relationship" conference drew many business people to its sessions, and all three conferences appealed to a wide range of people. The present volume, like its two predecessors, tries to sustain that broad appeal by illustrating the articles published as fully as possible.

The preface to *A Special Relationship* spoke of the experience that caused Concordia College to sponsor the first two conferences — and resulted in the publishing of the conference papers: "In the 1970s additional impetus to an exploration of Minnesota's German heritage was provided by *Die Wandertour* (a mobile language experience), which took students on a 500-mile tour through areas of significant German heritage in Minnesota. This innovation provided the greatest spur to the Language Village interest in the 'deferred heritage.' When the curriculum was being prepared for the bicycle-language-culture tour, it was found that even though certain areas of Minnesota are recognized as 'German,' the 'German-ness' was often ill-defined."

Professor Norbert Benzel of Concordia College has had a special role in the three conferences. In each one he has demonstrated how the study of language can be enlivened and made more concrete by taking it out of the classroom. Benzel was a prime mover in the bicycle tour practical language experiment, and the present collection of conference papers includes his description and analysis in "German Language Experience: Die Wandertour."



The noon luncheon at the September 29, 1983 conference was held in the garden court of the Howard Johnson Motor Hotel in Bloomington, MN. In this photograph Oskar von Siegfried is seen speaking to the luncheon audience.

As Vice Consul von Siegfried spoke at the 1983 luncheon, some prominent figures in German-American commemoration were seated at his left: La Vern Rippley, Odell Bjerkness, Beverly and Edward Fish, and Darrel Schenk.

Galinsky Address Opens Conference

There were three German voices at the 1983 conference. Professor Hans Galinsky pointed out German involvement with the New World more than four centuries ago, when the first discoveries and exploration took place, and his literary perspectives span three hundred years, appropriate in the tri-centennial year. Professor Günter Moltmann's research into the social protest aspects of German emigration in the nineteenth century has already resulted in several articles on the subject. His presentation at Bloomington was a part of his continuing research leading to a full study of the subject. Consul General Oskar von Siegfried surveyed present-day German-American relations in his Bloomington luncheon address. His article, though on a somewhat smaller scale, is similar to Ambassador Hermes' overview as published in *A Special Relationship*.

Professor Galinsky's opening address at the Bloomington conference on September 29, 1983 was entitled "The German Contribution to the Discovery, Exploration and Early Settlement of the Americas: Its Reflection in German and

American Literature." For publication he divided the address into two separate articles, the first two in this collection. Both of Galinsky's studies extend investigation of German-American involvement into realms that had scarcely been approached in our previous conferences. Those who heard Galinsky at Bloomington will welcome the printed text: his matter is so erudite that we are put on our mettle to follow him even on the printed page.

The first article describes German contributions — scientific, technological, and linguistic — to the New World discovery and exploration in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. Galinsky tells us that in 1507 Martin Waldseemüller, a German geographer, created the name "America" to identify a newly-discovered land mass across the Atlantic now known as South America. (A copy of this map owned by the James Ford Bell Library was displayed as a part of the University of Minnesota's commemoration of the German-American Tricentennial.) In 1538 another German map-maker, Gerhard Kremer (usually known as Mercator), applied this new name to both of the newly discovered continents. When a third German, Abraham Ortelius, a "map-dealer" of Antwerp, incorporated these maps in his widely-used atlas of 1570, "America" was fixed permanently as the name of the new continents.

Galinsky found many kinds of German New World involvement in the next two centuries: Welsers and Fuggers financing expeditions, adventurers coming back to publish fabulous tales, and finally missionary and immigration activity. Because the Austrian House of Habsburg ruled Spain in this era, most German involvement in the Americas was in South America or Mexico. But Galinsky ends his article with accounts of three Germans who played roles in the Protestant English colonies during the 17th century: Theodorus von Bry, a Frankfurt publisher; Johann Lederer, M.D., explorer of western Virginia and the Carolinas; and Franz Daniel Pastorius, leader of the 1683 Rhine-Main Pennsylvania immigrants.

Three Literary Perspectives

Although Professor Galinsky put his literary reflections into a separate paper, there is a natural connection between the two articles. The first of his three literary perspectives on the Germans in America is provided by a German immigrant, Franz Daniel Pastorius, the friend of William Penn. Three hundred years ago Pastorius published promotional tracts on behalf of Pennsylvania, but Galinsky found more interest in the poetry Pastorius wrote. "In it the situation of the first native-borns and their first parents in their new inter-ethnic environment finds its expression." The article has generous quotations from this verse that existed only in manuscript form until recently.

The "back-home author" Galinsky chose was Goethe. "It would be instructive to watch the slow emergence, in Goethe's works, of the figure of the immigrant, both the prospective and the actual one," Galinsky begins. He chooses, however, to concentrate on *Wilhelm Meister,* on the semi-autobiographical *Lehrjahre* of 1796 and the *Wanderjahre* of 1829. Galinsky tells us how European Geothe's perspective is: "Neither emigration nor immigration are presented as accomplished facts in the *Lehrjahre.* The only person that has been in the New World has returned." Another summary statement tells us even more:

> Seen as a whole, Goethe's is the most comprehensive late 18th and early 19th century German attempt to combine under a homeland perspective three facets of the German in America: the military volunteer, the immigrant, much more prospective than actual, and the returnee.... Goethe has subordinated all of these facets to one perspective that exceeds both the German and American. The German in or to or back from America serves as a symbol of man, that migratory being....

Galinsky's third perspective is furnished by William Carlos Williams. "The German in America, working as physician or scientist, is a feature which Williams, in the course of his scientific and medical training became aware of." The Williams writings noted are his *Autobiography, Selected Letters,* and a novel trilogy in which Williams "narrates the family saga of Joe Stecher, immigrant printer from Silesia in the days of pre-1914 Imperial Germany." The novels are *White Mule* (1937), *In the Money* (1942), and *The Build-Up* (1950).

But Williams' poetry, including the well-known *Paterson,* is also cited. Galinsky thinks that "Williams' perceptivity of what World War I meant to America's Germans" and his keen understanding of post-1945 Germans-in-America are both remarkable: "Thanks to a keenly observant doctor-poet and prose writer, second-generation American Williams, the fullest view of the German in America has emerged from an Anglo-American."

The final presentation at the "Heritage Fulfilled" conference was "German Immigration to the United States as a Social Protest" by Professor

Günter Moltmann. In 1983 Moltmann published *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration, 1683-1983.* Illustrative material used in the article published here came from that book. Professor Moltmann has more recently been at work on a more specialized study of the German immigration to the United States, however, and his presentation at the Bloomington conference was a part of his new research. Because this project is not yet far enough along for publication, Dr. Moltmann submitted the synopsis which is included in *A Heritage Fulfilled.*

Much Work in Progress

A number of the articles in *A Heritage Fulfilled* reflect research projects that are just getting underway. "This paper must be viewed as a work-in-progress" write Marilyn Chiat and Chester Proshan in their preliminary study of "German Jews in Minnesota: 1845-1910." The authors refer to an on-going project co-sponsored by the University of Minnesota and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The initial phase has concentrated on the northeastern sector of Minnesota, the Iron Range. Chiat and Proshan report on their findings in this area only, but their article begins with one overview, "Jews in Germany: 1800-1900," and follows with another, "German Jews in America: 1800-1900."

Chiat and Proshan next survey the studies that have already been done on Minnesota's Jewish population. A beginning was made several decades ago, but only a beginning. Fortunately, they report, "Primary sources were available. Private and public records exist."

Karl Fink is able to go farther in his paper on "German Lutherans in Minnesota." Even so, Professor Fink begins by saying that nearly 130 years after the first German Lutheran church was established in Minnesota". . . .it does seem appropriate to begin research on the topic" of German Lutheran ethnicity. A key word, I think, is "begin." Fink tells us that he used "centennial documents acquired from parish pastors in Minnesota," and notes that "published synod histories [are] available through. . .church offices."

Professor Fink's paper seems to be a fairly complete overview of the various German Lutheran synods in Minnesota. He looks at "Home Missions" and "Indian Missions," and speaks of parochial schools and church art and architecture. But throughout his paper he says things like, "This topic of German Lutheran ethnic life merits closer attention," goes on to explain why, and concludes: "The topic (German Lutheran Indian Missions). . .is one which has been deferred and awaits fulfillment, an aspect of the German Lutheran heritage with potential for development."

At the end of his paper Karl Fink poses some "preliminary questions" and suggests tasks that might be undertaken, concluding: "The present study has tried to give some direction to the state of research on German Lutheran ethnicity, as well as to the object of the research itself, to the diversity and particularism in German Lutheran ethnicity in Minnesota."

Dr. Daniel O'Neill's study of the Roman Catholic priesthood in Minnesota is a partial and limited investigation. He has looked at the recruitment of priests for the St. Paul Diocese from 1870 to 1930 and the shift from foreign-born to native American priests. He also investigated the recruitment of priests at St. John's Abbey, nearly all of them of German extraction in the 19th century. O'Neill uses charts to show the shift, decade by decade, in the ethnic backgrounds of the Roman Catholic clergy.

Earlier Articles Recalled

To some readers O'Neill's tables will recall Father Colman Barry's "Religious and Language Experiences of German-Catholic Americans" in *A Heritage Deferred,* and R.W. Franklin's "The German Theological and Liturgical Influence in Minnesota: St. John's Abbey and the Liturgical Revival," which appeared in *A Special Relationship.* Father Barry portrayed the inevitable differences (and even clashes) between Irish Catholic churchmen — bent on "Americanizing" and modernizing the Church in the United States — and German-Americans who wished to retain "traditional customs which were deeply rooted in the centuries-old Catholic culture of the German fatherland." The article by Timothy J. Kloberdanz on "Cultural Integrity and the Role of Religion," appeared in *A Heritage Deferred* as a reaction to Father Barry's presentation. In both papers a leading (though controversial), figure is Archbishop John Ireland, who presided over the St. Paul diocese from 1884 to 1918.

Dr. Franklin's article explained how the Benedictine order came to Minnesota: "When the number of German Catholics in central Minnesota had reached 50 in 1855, Bishop Joseph Cretin of St. Paul called for the Bavarian monks, who had founded the first Benedictine Abbey in America in 1846, to establish a monastery in their midst." Franklin's article tells of the remarkable growth of St. John's Abbey from its modest beginnings in 1856, and the spread of the American Liturgical Movement from St. John's, "from central Minnesota to parishes in St. Paul and St. Louis, then in the 1940s into the religious communities, and by the 1950s among the American bishops."

O'Neill concludes with a question. "This essay has explored only one dimension of careers in the institutional church. Just as important is the response of German-American and Irish-American women to religious life in the convent. Did they respond differently than their brothers to the church's call for vocations?" Dr. O'Neill's current research is on the history of American nuns.

Two articles in this collection deal with the German-American press in Minnesota. Professor Gerhard Weiss, who examined the German image in *A Special Relationship,* surveyed "The German Language Press in Minnesota" at the 1983 conference. "The foreign language press in America," says Weiss, "is primarily a phenomenon of 19th century mass immigration." That press is also, he tells us, a kind of barometer, and a study of the German-American press can tell us a great deal about the whole German immigration story.

Weiss goes on to say that "there was nothing unique about the Minnesota-German press," but his succinct account reveals both colorful editors and unusual publications. He concludes his survey on the same note as some of the other studies included in this volume: "The Minnesota-German press is a significant document of 100 years of Minnesota history: it is one of the richest sources and has as yet been only marginally explored." Newspaper files have been poorly preserved and are scattered, because no central repository exists. Professor Weiss thinks some files may still be found in attics or in private collections: "The time has come to make a deliberate effort to gather these records of the past before it is too late. Only thus can our heritage be truly fulfilled."

Professor Gerhard Weiss read his paper on the German language press at the 1983 Bloomington conference.

Der Wanderer of St. Paul

A companion piece to the Weiss survey is John Kulas' *"Der Wanderer* of St. Paul: An Overview of the First Years." Founded in 1867, twelve years after the first German-American paper had been established in Minnesota, *Der Wanderer* was a high level weekly paper with a close relationship to the Roman Catholic Church. However, it was owned and edited by laymen. A Benedictine priest was "instrumental" in getting the paper started, and *Der Wanderer,* particularly in its early years, leaned on support (even financial) from St. John's Abbey, on the endorsement of local bishops, and on appreciable help from priests who acted as subscription agents or promoted the paper from their pulpits.

"Der Wanderer was never a mass circulation journal," says Kulas, but by 1875 its circulation had reached 3,000 (mostly in Minnesota) and 11,000 during its peak years at the turn of the century. In 1931 it was joined by an English-language "companion," *The Wanderer,* which became the sole edition of the weekly in 1957.

Professor Kulas reveals some significant information about the German-American press in his introductory paragraphs. When the United States had a population of less than 13 million people in 1830, it published more newspapers than all of Europe — with a population of 185 million; and "more foreign-language newspapers and periodicals were published in proportion to the foreign-born population (of the U.S.) than were published in the home countries in proportion to the native born." Of these, German-American publications led all the rest: "Throughout the nineteenth century the ratio of German publications to all other foreign-language publications was well in excess of two to one, reaching in 1885 the figure of seventy-nine percent of the whole."

Some readers may be deterred by the length and scope of his in-depth study of *Der Wanderer,* but Professor Kulas' careful examination of this early weekly tells us much about immigrant Minnesota, certainly about the German-Catholic segment. His article describes the paper's fluctuations (under a series of editors) and its contents: local, state, national and international politics; a literary section including poetry, fiction, book reviews and theatrical notices; club and musical notes; humor, and other entertainment; but, above all, close attention to issues that involved fidelity to the Roman Catholic religion, preservation of the German language, and retention of German culture.

Kulas found both bigotry and insensitivity in the articles and editorials he examined: ". . .the record of *Der Wanderer* on civil rights for the Blacks cannot be termed anything but political and racist, a fault which, to be sure, it shared with a great many others at the time. The record on Indians, Jews, and women is unfortunately no different." This generalization is made only after much evidence has been cited.

Frustration over their own problems with American nativist discrimination against recent immigrants lay behind these attitudes, but it does not excuse them, says Kulas. The German-American writers "failed to perceive the overriding necessity of safeguarding civil rights for all people." Worth noting, however, is the indignation of *Der Wanderer* editors over political hypocrisy: "Republicans were accused of exploiting the Black issue for their own political ends, imposing an unwanted social revolution on Southern whites while blantantly refusing to end discrimination in northern states." Discrimination, that is, against naturalized German-American citizens who liked to drink beer on Sunday and retain their German language and customs!

German Banking in Minnesota

LaVern Rippley's "German-American Banking in Minnesota" covers more ground than the title implies. After beginning with some generalization about immigration and economics, Rippley recalls the all-but-forgotten Georg Friedrich List (1789-1846), who advocated — and sometimes achieved — economic reforms so far ahead of his time that he called for a European Common Market in the 1840s. As a naturalized American citizen, List served a U.S. Consul in several German cities and published important books on economics in Germany and the U.S.

Narrowing his discussion to German-American banking institutions in Minnesota, Rippley devotes nearly all of his attention to the German banks of St. Paul, and he follows the remarkable careers of the brothers Ferdinand and Gustav Willius in some detail. Citing a study of American banking by University of Minnesota Research Institute scholars, Rippley concludes that the success or failure of a bank depended on the quality of its management. He makes no claim for any special German success in this realm: "Among the German banks in Minnesota, none seems to have exhibited the sound management that enabled them to weasel through thick and thin for decades on end, with the outstanding exception of the Willius brothers."

At the end of his article Rippley adds a chart which lists the German-American "ethnic" state banks of Minnesota, noting the date of closing and "cause of discontinuance" for each. Lists of the National German-American banks proved elusive.

Professor La Vern Rippley, who played an important role in setting up each of the three conferences sponsored by the Concordia Language Villages, spoke at the Bloomington symposium on German-American banking in Minnesota.

Professor Rippley is well aware of Minnesota banks that did not have "German" in the bank name but may have been more ethnic than those he describes. One such case is found in St. Cloud, the county seat of Stearns County — the largest concentration of German settlers in central Minnesota. In 1861 they elected John Zapp, a German immigrant, county register of deeds. Zapp, who was born in Schoenecken, Kreis Preum, Prussia, had come to the United States in 1854. In Germany he had learned both farming and engineering from his father. Young Zapp came to Sauk Rapids, Minnesota in 1855 to run a sawmill, which was converted to a flour mill three years later. More important, he gained the trust and confidence of his fellow German immigrants.

The following excerpt from *The History of Stearns County,* published in 1915 by William Bell Mitchell, tells how the election of 1861 led to the founding of one of St. Cloud's major banks, the present Zapp National Bank:

> Mr. Zapp's beginning in the banking business was in a small unobtrusive way. At the close of the Civil War, financial matters were naturally very much upset and in a precarious condition as a result of the long conflict. Banks were not regarded with the confidence that they are today and people generally depended more upon a trustworthy man than they did upon a bank. In the discharge of his duties as a register of deeds,

John Zapp in 1901 (Courtesy Zapp National Bank)

John Zapp, the founder in front of his origional bank on Courthouse Square in St. Cloud. (Courtesy Zapp National Bank)

Mr. Zapp came in personal contact with the pioneer settlers and often befriended them by service and advice. As a result of this and the conscientious manner in which he attended to the duties of his office, he won their confidence to a marked degree. When some of them began to accumulate a little money, they often took it to Mr. Zapp for safe keeping.

His second bank was built in 1913, two years before John Zapp's death. St. Cloud granite was conspicuous in the state bank's imposing entrance. (Courtesy Zapp National Bank)

Originally he gave them a receipt for it, but after a while he gave them his note and then re-invested the money in farm mortgages or other good investments. Thus it came that on January 1, 1870, which is the oldest record that he still has in his possession, he had been entrusted in this way with $5,555 for which he had given his notes. On January 1, 1872, this had grown to $8,153.25, on January 1, 1873, to $9,318.65, and from this small beginning the amount began to gradually grow until when he retired from the register of deeds office and engaged in the private banking business, he had a total of outstanding certificates of deposit of $100,000. With this as a nucleus, on January 1, 1889, he began business as a private banker under the name of Zapp's Loan Bank, in the small one-story brick building just west of the courthouse, where the business was carried on successfully for the twenty-five years last past.

On July 1, 1907, Zapp's State Bank was incorporated under the state laws with a capital of $50,000 and a surplus of $1,000. . .

At the close of the first year's business on July 1, 1908, the bank had total deposits of $417,516.74 and a surplus of $2,000. On August 8, 1913, the capital stock was increased from $50,000 to $100,000 and the surplus of July 1, 1908, which had been $2,000 was increased to $25,000.

The certificate of deposit account with which John Zapp started in business on June 1, 1870, of $5,555 has grown until at this

Left, Edward J. Zapp Jr. (1940-) is a fourth generation banker. (Courtesy Zapp National Bank)
Right, Edward A. Zapp (1911-1982) was the third generation banker. (Courtesy Zapp National Bank)

time the bank is paying interest on over three-quarters of a million dollars and shows according to the last statement of condition, total deposits of $950,000. The present officers of the bank are: John Zapp, president; Theodore Bruener, vice-president; Edward Zapp, cashier; George J. Meinz, assistant cashier. On the board of directors appear the well-known names of John Zapp, Edward Zapp, Theodore Bruener, Frank Fandel and J.B. Himsl.

In 1914, the offices of the bank were moved from the modest quarters known to so many, immediately opposite the court house, to the beautiful building erected by the bank on St. Germain street. The present banking quarters are among the most beautiful, most convenient and most modern in the country.

Names Can Be Misleading

Mitchell's *Stearns County History* has this paragraph just after the account of John Zapp and his bank:

> The German American National Bank was organized July 9, 1883, with the following named officers and directors: A.C. Hull, president; F.E. Searle, vice-president; J.F. Stevenson, John Coates, J.E. West, John Cooper, William Westerman, J.E. Hayward, E.W. Truesdell, C.A. Howe, Marcus Maurin and F.E. Searle, directors, and continued in business at No. 18 Fifth Avenue South until May 13, 1897, when its consolidation with the Merchants' National was effected.

The present main office of the Zapp Holding Company was built in 1964. (Courtesy Zapp National Bank)

The third Zapp bank, built in 1949 on the site of the second bank, also used St. Cloud granite. (Courtesy Zapp National Bank)

Edward J. Zapp, John Zapp's great grandson, who is now the president of the Zapp National Bank, comments: ". . .if you will note, all the officers and directors are New Englanders. I think the addition of the word German in the title was strictly a marketing ploy."

A word of explanation to anyone not acquainted with regional history of the Middle West: although the land was peopled with immigrants from Germany, the Scandinavian countries, and other European lands, a much smaller influx from the New England states (and some other older sections of the nation) founded the towns, became the entrepreneurs, monopolized the professions, and generally "ran things" until well into the twentieth century. Edward Zapp is also president of the Stearns County Historical Society and the guiding genius behind the Heritage Interpretive Center now being completed in St. Cloud. When he identifies the organizers of the German-American Bank as New Englanders, he speaks from a knowledge of Stearns County history.

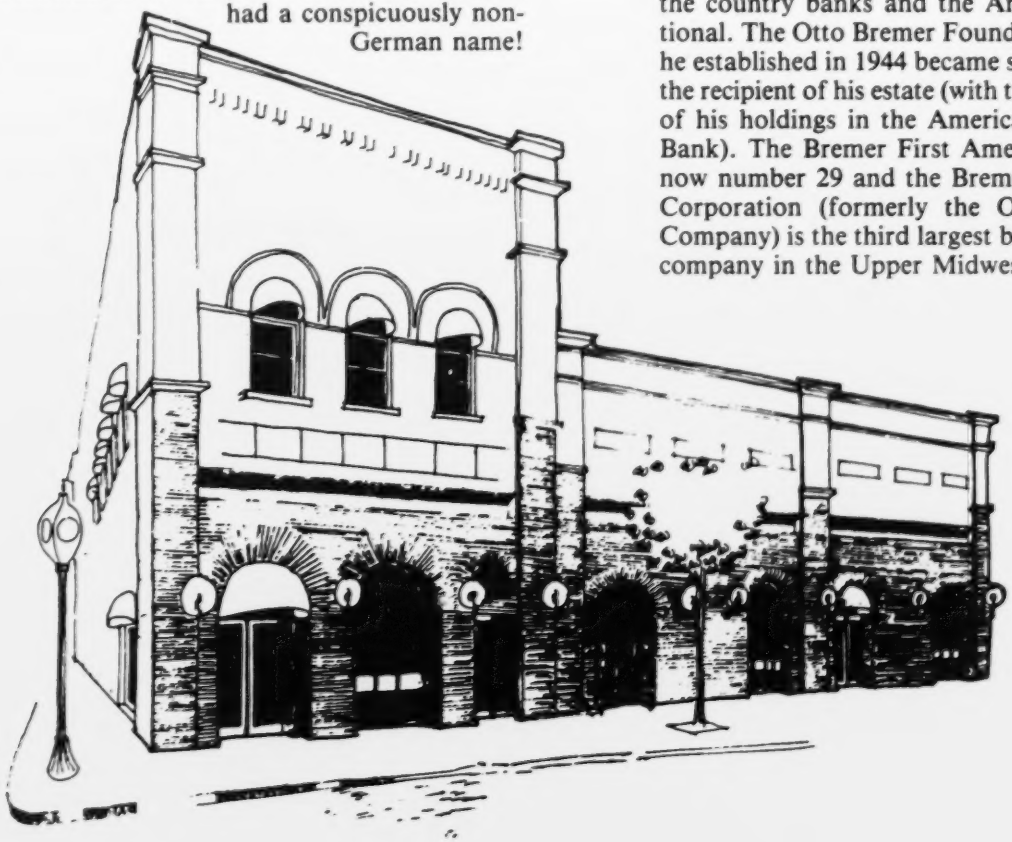
Otto Bremer

Rippley's account of Minnesota banking does not continue on to the organization of bank holding companies in Minneapolis and St. Paul in the mid-twentieth century. Had he done so he would have encountered Otto Bremer, whose remarkable banking career began about the time the Willius story was nearing its end. There is a slight overlap: at the beginning of his career Bremer worked for St. Paul's National German American Bank for 13 years and was a stockholder in the bank. His own bank, however, had a conspicuously non-German name!

The Bremer Banks

Otto and Adolf Bremer immigrated to Minnesota from Seesen, Germany in 1886, when Otto was nineteen years old. Adolf Bremer went into the brewing business and became president and chief executive officer of the Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company. But brother Otto Bremer was a banker: he became the founder, controlling shareholder, and chairman of the board of the American National Bank of St. Paul. His subsequent larger role in banking is summarized by Karen Starr of the Bremer Foundation:

> Otto explained his interest in numerous "country banks" in Minnesota, North Dakota, and Wisconsin. His investment in these banks grew as a result of his assistance to them in the 20s and 30s. At one time he was a large or controlling shareholder in some 55 banks. His aid to these banks during the Depression caused a gradual erosion of his position with the American National, but his ties in the country banks grew stronger.
>
> Before he died in 1951, he established the Otto Bremer Company, a bank holding company composed primarily of his holdings in the country banks and the American National. The Otto Bremer Foundation which he established in 1944 became substantially the recipient of his estate (with the exception of his holdings in the American National Bank). The Bremer First American banks now number 29 and the Bremer Financial Corporation (formerly the Otto Bremer Company) is the third largest bank holding company in the Upper Midwest.



The Casselton North Dakota State Bank is a Bremer "county bank". (Courtesy Casselton State Bank)

This letterhead, showing the 1904 World's Fair Medal, was used for many years in the Schroeder seed potato business. The name was originally "Henry Schroeder," but about 1918 his son Ernest had the plate re-engraved to substitute his own name. A very sharp eye may be able to detect the change in the plate. (Courtesy Steve Schroeder)

One further minor addition to Rippley's account of German-Americans and banking in Minnesota. Only a small number of Germans ventured into the northwestern part of Minnesota, but some of them became conspicuously successful and influential farmers. Best known among them at the turn of the century was Henry Schroeder, who farmed near Sabin and eventually acquired 4,000 acres of land. Potatoes had been raised in Clay County before Schroeder arrived there in 1878, but not commercially; he was highly successful in marketing Clay County potatoes, showing the way for others, and he won a prize for his potatoes at the 1904 World's Fair.

Although he farmed ten miles out of town, Henry Schroeder was elected president of Moorhead's First National Bank in 1914, a position he held until the bank was merged with the Moorhead National Bank in 1927. The position was largely honorary because management was vested in the board of directors and cashier, but it testifies to the position in the community earned by this German emigrant of 1871.

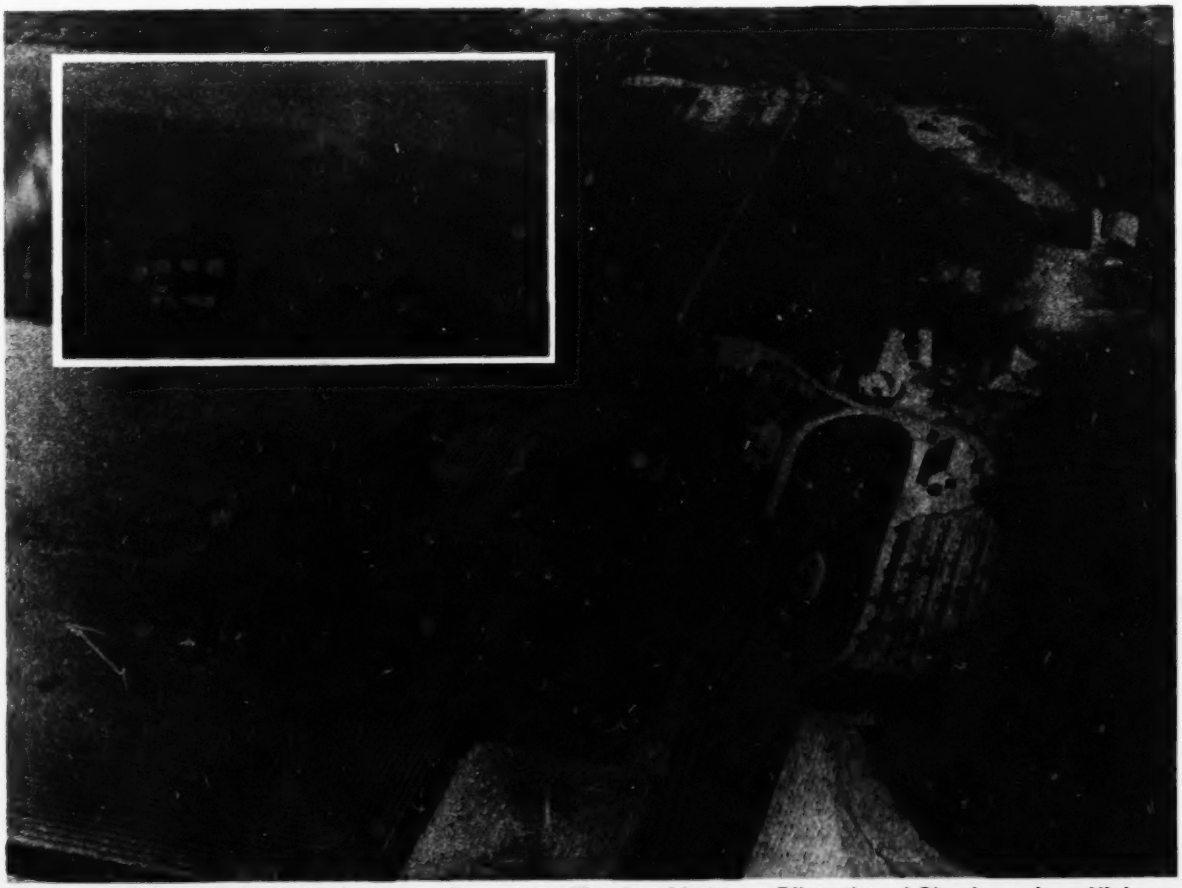
Clay County claimed to be "the potato capital of the world" at the turn of the century - an exaggerated, erroneous boast that may have been

Henry Schroeder, about 1890-95 (Courtesy Steve Schroeder)

Hauling bundles on the Ernest Schroeder farm in 1930. The Schroeders raised grain as well as potatoes. (Courtesy Steve Schroeder)

Ernest Schroeder, about 1910 (Courtesy Steve Schroeder)

Ernest Schroeder, 1960 (Courtesy Steve Schroeder)



The Ernest Schroeder farmstead, seven miles east of Moorhead between Dilworth and Glyndon, where Highway 10 crosses the south fork of the Buffalo River. The aerial view was taken 1940-45 and the stark ground level view in 1920. (Courtesy Steve Schroder)

Ninety years ago, Henry Schroeder watched four of his potato planters putting in the year's crop. (Courtesy Steve Schroeder)

stimulated by Henry Schroeder's success in marketing. The Red River Valley was acutely aware of boosterism and its value: when its bonanza farms got world-wide publicity in the 1870s, the region's farm lands were homesteaded (or sold by the railroads), and put under cultivation in record time in the 70s and 80s. Many of its German farmers, though outnumbered by their Norwegian neighbors, became conspicuously successful - and still are.

This is mentioned here to point out an omission in the German-American articles thus far: the German contribution to Minnesota agriculture. There is a bare mention of Wendelin Grimm's acclimatization of alfalfa in *A Heritage Deferred* and Rachel Bonney wrote of Rudolph Knapheide, her great-grandfather, who experimented with grape growing, but little more has been done. This topic should be explored in depth.

In 1936, a hot and dry year, Ernest Schroeder planted three carloads of potatoes and harvested two. (Courtesy Steve Schroeder)

Social and Cultural Clubs

Reference was made in each of our earlier volumes to German social and cultural clubs, especially to the famed *Turnvereins* that transplanted successfully to American soil. Cincinnati and Chicago "Turners" were responsible for the founding and settlement of Minnesota's only planned German community, New Ulm. There were a number of *Turnvereins* in every American city that had a sizeable German-American population, including St. Paul. Such organizations were 19th century phenomena, and some of our earlier articles left the impression that these typical German-American entities had died out in the 20th century. Paul Schons' article, "German Clubs and Societies in Minnesota," corrects this misconception.

In the first two volumes there was virtually no mention of German immigrants in the American Civil War or even to the bloody Sioux outbreak which cost over 500 lives on the Minnesota frontier — most of them German settlers in the Minnesota River Valley. At the 1983 Bloomington conference, and in this volume, "Minnesota's Germans and the Civil War" by Sister John Christine Wolkerstorfer first surveys German immigration to the United States up to 1861, and more particularly to Minnesota. She outlines the pattern of German settlement in the state but also writes of the attitude of these recent immigrants toward the slavery issue and their political opinions and involvement.

German-Americans in the Civil War

Next, to place German-American participation in perspective, Dr. Wolkerstorfer gives some attention to the overall role of the new State of Minnesota in the Civil War. The forming of the First, Second and Third Regiments are noted, and their roles in the war — with special attention to the German presence in each of them. When three companies of the Fifth Regiment were sent to the Indian frontier before the regiment itself was organized, attention is shifted to the Sioux outbreak that struck heavily against the German settlements. The closing paragraph of the article links the German involvement in the two struggles that went on at the same time:

> Minnesota Germans' support of the Union war effort during the Civil War can only be adequately assessed in the light of service rendered on the battlefields of that war and in their home valley. Besides the Pennsylvania farmers at Gettysburg, Minnesota's German frontiersmen were the only Northerners during the Civil War who knew the fear, frustration, and dogged determination of conducting war to defend their homes, farms, and possessions against ruthless invaders. These Germans proved themselves as stalwart Minnesotans, as stalwart and worthy Americans.

Sister Wolkerstorfer acknowledges statements made a century ago that German immigrants had inglorious roles in these desperate struggles. The charge was that the German-Americans were too passive. Dr. Wolkerstorfer surveys the evidence and examines the roles of military units and some individuals. She points out that one commander, Colonel Henry C. Lester of Winona, a German-American, surrendered the Third Minnesota Regiment to Confederate forces in the Battle of Murfreesboro (Tennessee) in 1862 "without any real battle." An "image of cowardice and ineptitude" attached to this regiment because of the bad decision of its colonel, who was dismissed from the service; but some paroled troops from the Third came back to Minnesota to redeem themselves against the Sioux.

German-Americans in Command at Fort Abercrombie

Dr. Wolkerstorfer did not undertake to report on every German-American commander and army unit, of course. If she had wanted to balance the record of the unfortunate captain from

The role of Minnesota's German settlers in the Civil War and the 1862 Sioux Outbreak was the topic of the article read by Sister Christine Wolkerstorfer of the College of St. Catherine.

Winona with a much better one, she might have cited the case of Captain John Vander Horck of St. Paul, a German-American grocer and hardware merchant who commanded Fort Abercrombie on the Western frontier during a five-week siege by the Sioux, August 23 to September 29, 1862.

Vander Horck had no military training in Germany before he migrated to America. However, shortly after the Civil War began, he recruited a company for the 5th Minnesota Infantry Regiment; they were St. Paul artisans and tradesmen, mostly German, and ranged in age from 18 to 44. In March, 1862 Vander Horck took his 78 men of Company D to Fort Abercrombie to relieve a company being sent to the South. The "fort" this unit held against repeated Sioux attacks was only a small military post without effective fortifications. Abercrombie's cluster of wooden buildings were soon crowded with settlers, including many women and children, who sought refuge when word of the Sioux outbreak reached the Red River Valley. There were 160 people at the military post when the Indian attack came. A shortage of rifles and ammunition was so serious a problem that Vander Horck prepared for a desperate last stand two weeks before belated relief columns arrived from St. Cloud, 152 miles away.

Although only five were killed and five badly wounded in the defense of Abercrombie, Captain Vander Horck was sharply attacked — and even threatened by death — by civilians at the fort who blamed him for even those deaths. He was vindicated, however, and led his unit to join the Seventh Minnesota Regiment in Tennessee. Vander Horck relinquished his command of Fort Abercrombie to Captain Francis Peteler, another German immigrant who went on to command the First Company of Minnesota Sharpshooters at the Battle of Gettysburg.

When Fort Abercrombie was evacuated and abandoned more than a hundred years ago, this building was taken over by a farmer of the area.

It is of some interest that the most recalcitrant of the Abercrombie civilians was Randolph Probstfield, a native of Koblenz in the Rhineland, who had immigrated to Minnesota in the early 1850s and had come into the Red River area in 1858. Probstfield had been forced to take refuge at Fort Abercrombie (with his family and his stock) against his will, and he quarrelled bitterly

Captain John Vander Horck

This undated Fort Abercrombie photograph shows the kind of buildings that constituted the frontier outpost. It was a "fort" in name only.

Catherine and Randolph Probstfield. When they took refuge at Fort Abercrombie, they had their first child, Mary, with them. After the Sioux War, Probstfield was in charge of the Hudson's Bay post at Georgetown, Minnesota (about fifty miles north of Fort Abercrombie) for some years and became the first farmer in the upper Red River Valley. He experimented with many kinds of crops.

with Vander Horck. Probstfield was also the only settler who did not desert the Red River Valley in the years immediately following the Sioux outbreak.

Conference-Book Relationship

A word about the relationship between these three German-American books and the conferences that gave rise to their publication. When scholars were invited to present papers at the three conferences, they were aware that the time limitations imposed by one-day sessions made the reading of full papers impossible. Also, some of the papers were not ready for publication when their authors made oral presentations. In a few cases, especially in *A Special Relationship,* the printed articles correspond closely to the conference presentations. This was made possible by running several sessions simultaneously, thereby allowing more time for the presentation of each paper.

In the present volume several papers are included that could not be delivered at the "Heritage Fulfilled" symposium. Professor John C. Massmann had his paper on the Tolksdorf-Shillock family ready to be presented in September 1983, and his article is printed in this volume as it was submitted. But Dr. Massmann was teaching in Aalborg, Denmark during the fall quarter of 1983 and could not read his paper at the Bloomington conference.

On the other hand, Fay Dearden was at the Bloomington conference answering questions about German genealogical research. Her article, which is printed in this volume, was ready at the time of the conference: however, time could not be allotted for the reading of her paper, nor is it the kind of article intended for symposium presentation.

"Fulfilled" in the title of the 1983 conference and the present volume is not intended to mean "completed" or "achieved." It does mean that Minnesota's German-Americans have been aroused and stimulated — in part, perhaps, by the symposiums and publications just surveyed. If the heritage is fulfilled, it is obvious from the present volume that research and publication on German immigration to America is only getting underway at the present time. With this volume, however, the Concordia College International Language Village program will leave the field to others. *A Heritage Deferred* was published because there was too little in print on the German immigration story. That is still true, but there is evidence now that German-Americans have begun to remedy this situation.

As in the past, the conference participants have done their best to further this publication effort. Laurie Hoium and Carrie Ann-Dodds Diiro are primarily responsible for laying out the book and have contributed to the editorial process in a great many ways. My brother, Dr. B.G. Glasrud, gave me valuable advice and timely aid. I am grateful to four secretaries who have helped me put this collection together: Dee Ann Krugler and Ilene Iverson of the May Seminar-Language Villages office at Concordia College and Dolores Kruger of the Humanities office and Dorothy Zimney of the English office at Moorhead State University. They have done much to move this material steadily toward publication.

Clarence A. Glasrud
Professor Emeritus
Moorhead State University

Clarence A. Glasrud, Professor Emeritus at Moorhead State University, has shifted his primary allegiance from English to history since his retirement from teaching in 1977. His M.A. and Ph.D. were from Harvard (in English), after earlier work at Moorhead State Teachers College (B.E.), the University of Minnesota, and Kenyon College. His published books are *The Age of Anxiety,* ed. (Houghton Mifflin, 1960), *Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen* (Norwegian American Historical Association, 1963), *A Century Together,* co-ed. (Fargo-Moorhead Centennial Corporation, 1975), *A Heritage Deferred,* ed. (Concordia College, 1982, *Roy Johnson's Red River Valley,* ed. (Red River Valley Historical Society, 1982), and *A Special Relationship: Germany and Minnesota, 1945-1985* (Concordia College, 1983).

The German Contribution to the Discovery, Exploration, and Early Settlement of the Americas

by Hans Galinsky

Explanation: *Single quote marks are used to indicate words or passages originally in German but translated into English and quoted in English. Some words are spaced out to focus attention on them.*

As a young high school teacher I once chose a class text called *Kidnapped by Indians,* an adventure tale about a German-American settlement I had never heard of before: New Ulm. It was a prophetic choice, anticipating my real experience of Minnesota and its history during my Fulbright professorship at the University of Minnesota in part of 1955. In its way that early choice did prepare me even for the topic of this paper. It concerns the German contribution to the discovery, exploration, and early settlement of the Americas. My subject aims to provide the beginnings, the 15th, 16th, and 17th century background against which the whole German part, including the Minnesota German part, of the American settlement story may be set. I would like to furnish a general perspective rather than tell a specific, regional story, a field in which I could not compete with the many Minnesota German experts among my readers.

What are my credentials to do justice to such a comprehensive, bi-continental topic as mine? Am I qualified because I come from the city where Johannes Gutenberg, around 50 years before Columbus' discovery of America, made a little discovery nearer home - the gentle art of printing by movable type? Printing of maps, printing of news: the one surely facilitated discovery, the other helped its publicising. Or is it that, as a German, I was chosen to speak in a year full of commemorations of German, though not only German, historic events? 1983 — five hundred years after Luther's birth, three hundred years after the first group immigration of Germans into Pennsylvania, one hundred years after the deaths of Karl Marx and Richard Wagner.

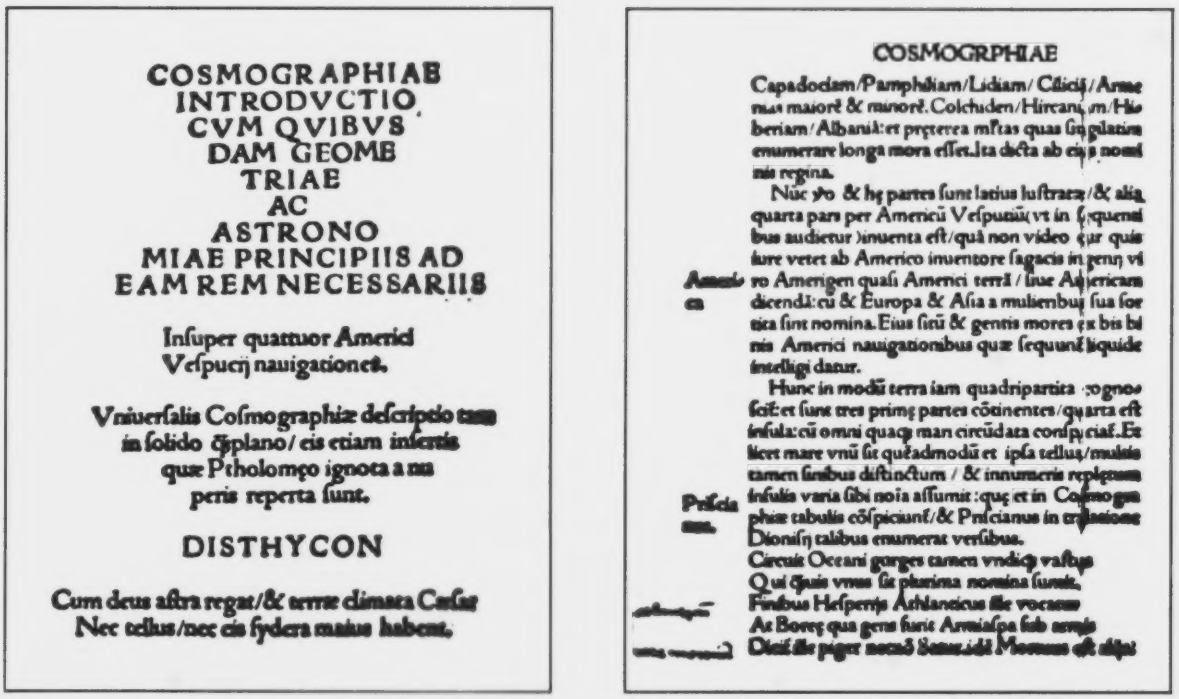
The remarkable thing is that not only the immigration into Pennsylvania has a direct bearing on my subject.

Take Luther! The image of the German as heretic followed the first German explorers of Venezuela in the 1530s and 1540s. It did not exactly promote German-Spanish cooperation in that part of South America.[1] On the other hand, the motivating power of the Reformation, released by Luther and channeled by other reformers, established Plymouth Plantation, the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and — two centuries later — the Lutheran churches in the Upper Midwest.

Take Karl Marx! Surely it is not the early settlement of the Americas he is related to, but it is the 19th century and its German mass emigration. On the 6th of November 1845 Dr. Carl Marx of Trier applied for official Prussian approval of his intent to emigrate to the United States.[2] Was this country lucky or was it not in that Dr. Marx did not realize his plan?

As for Richard Wagner, he too — and even twice, in 1877 and 1880 — considered the sale of his Bayreuth property and emigration to the United States a possibility to master the financial crisis overshadowing the Bayreuth Festival. Wagner did not come either. Yet his "Centennial March" commemorating 1776 had come.[3]

In Wagner's case it is not only thoughts of emigration that link him to my subject. Did you ever notice that one of his well-known opera figures, Alberich, the Nibelung who stole the Rhine gold, carries the same name as Albericus, Albericus Vesputius,[4] Amerigo Vespucci, in whose honor a German proposed that the name of this recently discovered fourth part of the world be "America"? Martin Waldseemüller, University-of-Freiburg-trained German college teacher of geography, cannot be expected to have been aware of the Germanic mythical implications of Albericus, Alberic, king of elfland,[5] nor will Albericus Vesputius, Florentine astronomer and pilot, have been conscious of these implications of his Germanic first name — Italianized, later Hispanizised and Latinized.



COSMOGRAPHIAE
INTRODVCTIO
CVM QVIBVS
DAM GEOMB
TRIAE
AC
ASTRONO
MIAE PRINCIPIIS AD
EAM REM NECESSARIIS

Insuper quattuor Americi
Vespucij nauigationes.

Vniuersalis Cosmographiæ descriptio tam
in solido ꝯplano/ eis etiam inserti
quæ Ptholomęo ignota a nu
peris reperta sunt.

DISTHYCON

Cum deus astra regat/& terræ climata Cæsar
Nec tellus/nec eis sydera maius habent.

COSMOGRPHIAE

Capadociam/Pamphiliam/Lidiam/ Cilicię/Armeniam maiorē & minorē. Colchiden/Hircaniam/Hiberiam/Albaniā: et preterea mītas quas ſingulatim enumerare longa mora eſſet. Ita dicta ab eius nomine regina.

Nūc vo & hę partes ſunt latius luſtrate/& alia quarta pars per Americū Veſpuciū (vt in ſequentibus audietur) inuenta eſt/quā non video cur quis iure vetet ab Americo inuentore ſagacis ingenij viro Amerigen quaſi Americi terrā / hinc Americam dicendā: cū & Europa & Aſia a mulieribus ſua ſortita ſint nomina. Eius ſitū & gentis mores ex his binis Americi nauigationibus quæ ſequunt liquide intelligi datur.

Amerigen

Hunc in modū terra iam quadripartita cognoſcit: et ſunt tres primę partes cōtinentes/ quarta eſt inſula: cū omni quaq; man circūdata conſpiciat. Et licet mare vnū ſit quēadmodū et ipſa tellus/ multis tamen ſinibus diſtinctum / & innumeris repletum inſulis varia ſibi noīa aſſumit: quę et in Cosmographię tabulis cōſpiciunt/ & Priſcianus in tranſlatione Dionyſij talibus enumerat verſibus.

Priſcian.

Circuit Oceani gurges tamen vndiq; vaſtus
Qui ꝙuis vnus ſit plurima nomina ſumit.
Finibus Heſperijs Athlanticus ille vocatus
At Boreę qua gens furit Armiſona ſub axe
Dicit ille pater nec Scythicū Mare dici

Title page of the 1507 Waldseemüller work which suggested the name "America" for the newly-discovered continent.

German Names America

Anyway, the Wagner centennial provides an amusing and meaningful detour to my first topic: the German contribution to the discovery of the Americas. Not the first, but, amazingly, the most lasting contribution was to the naming of the discovery, not to the discovery itself.

This linguistic present given was initially not accepted everywhere, and even where it was accepted it was not thoroughly welcome.[6] In Spain "las Indias" was used until the 18th century.[7] The West I n d i e s have continued this tradition until today. However, "America" is, literally, still on the map.

It was not by mere chance that a German geography teacher in Lorraine felt stimulated to suggest a name for what he had never seen. The stimulation occurred in 1507. Freiburg, whose university Waldseemüller had attended, was in Habsburg Austrian territory.[8] Lorraine, where he taught, was part of the Holy Roman Empire. The Empire-ruling dynasty, the Habsburgs, by marriage strategy had just acquired Spain, both European and colonial. Thus Waldseemüller was not an outside observer but a concerned insider. As inhabitant and geographer he was involved in a political and military power complex which was truly amphi-Atlantic. He did not share the "Las Indias" fallacy of Columbus, but felt free to honor Albericus Vesputius, the Florentine, as discoverer of a fourth part of the world. "America" in Waldseemüller's book *Cosmographiae Introductio* (1507) means South America, and this as a separate part of the world, i.e. separate from Asia and — contrary to Asia, Europe, and Africa — not a continent but an isle.

Aside from the conditioning influence of the upper Rhine and Lorraine region as a politically sensitive area, there was a personal incentive to Waldseemüller's trans-Atlantic interests. His colleague Ringmann, in 1506, had already translated into German Vespucci's *Mundus novus* of 1503.[9] Ringmann cooperated with Waldseemüller in the production of this 'Introduction to Cosmography.' It included a Latin translation of a French version of Vespucci's 'Four Voyages.'[10]

Cosmographiae Introductio, the title of this cooperative effort, mixes Latinized Greek with Latin. The producers of the book Grecized their names and added Latin endings. Accordingly, Amerigo Vespucci is Latinized as Americus Vesputius. In typically Renaissance fashion, this playful mixing of Latin and Greek continues. Amerigo, with humorous allusiveness, is analyzed as Ameri- ge, (ge, in Greek, standing for 'land'), and rendered as 'land of Americus.' In harmony with the three other parts of the world, the name of the fourth receives a feminine form: America. Studied in this Greco-Roman context, the name derives from a typically humanistic pun. Credit

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for this discovery must go to Harold Jantz of Duke University.[11] A sense of linguistic humor and a bow to womanhood, at least the grammatical one, accompanies this German contribution.

Due to a pun, the name "America" was perhaps not meant entirely seriously.[12] The name giver himself did not stick to it, although his is the first map with the name "America" on it. Six years later, in Waldseemüller's new 1513 edition of Ptolemy's 'Geography,' neither Vespucci nor America reappear. However, the name survived. Six editions of the 'Introduction to Cosmography' and other cartographers had adopted the name and kept reserving it for South America.[13]

Another German, Gerhard Kremer, Latinized as Gerhardus Mercator, was the first to use "America" for both the Southern and Northern parts.[14] With Waldseemüller the name giving and the cartographic contribution are united. With Mercator once again the linguistic one, the sense-extension of an adopted name, and the cartographic contribution are interlinked.

Mercator's Achievement

Waldseemüller's map is the first to use heart-shaped or "cordiform" projection.[15] Mercator, in 1538, made use of 'double cordiform' projection. German map-making went on improving. A modern American expert, Norman Thrower, evaluated Mercator's later achievement of 1569 as follows:

> In many respects the great summary map of the Renaissance is that of Mercator. Mercator liberated cartography from dependence on Ptolemy. His delineation of the coasts of the New World was not better than the information available to him, but his projection was of the greatest potential utility to the navigator. Mercator's projection is the only arrangement of the earth grid on which any straight line is a line of constant compass direction.[16]

The map in the Atlas published in Antwerp by Abraham Ortelius in 1570 shows both North and South America and the West Indies. Some parts of the map that were distorted at first were improved in later editions of this influential atlas.

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German map-making took in not only the New World or the New and the Old. It could also concentrate on such smaller units as a New World city. "The first American city map to be published anywhere," says Harold Jantz, was "a large map" of the capital of Mexico, appended to the account of Cortés' conquest. It was published in Nuremberg in 1524.[17]

Related to single map-making, collective map-making, i.e. atlas-making, is the third post-discovery contribution of the Germans. Collecting information of as many maps as possible, and then correlating and improving them takes time. A map dealer is just the right person to acquire the collective knowledge prerequisite to atlas-making, and the Spanish Netherlands would be the ideal place for a 16th century German bent on atlas-making and -selling. Abraham Ortelius, the son of a German resident of Antwerp, "a map dealer," was the producer of the scientifically best atlas of Renaissance times. The year of production was 1570. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* went to more than 40 editions in six languages.[18] South and North America are clearly distinguished, and North America is separated from North Eastern Asia by the Straits of Anian,[19] the conjectural forerunner of the actual Bering Straits. It was this very map which Hakluyt borrowed for his 1589 edition of *Principall Navigations.*[20]

Waldseemüller, Mercator, and Ortelius as major contributors representing a host of minor ones are plainly post-discovery people.

Pre-discovery or simultaneous with discovery are those who, in retrospect, facilitated discovery. Among them two Germans stand out, one for facilitating navigation, another for giving visible, practical, shape to the old "theory of a spherical earth."[21]

Johann Müller of Königsberg, Franconia - Latinized as Regiomontanus - improved the accuracy of the tables which help determine a ship's position by the angle of the sun. His *Tabula Directionum* was printed as early as around 1475.[22] The *Tabula* saw print in Nuremberg, at that time Germany's leading city of trade, science, and art, a center in the following decades quite alert to the veering of the winds of international traffic from the North-South trend of continental Europe to the East-West trend of Atlantic-seaboard Europe.

In the same city the first globe of the world has had its home since 1492. Its maker was Martin Behaim, a native of the place. Contrary to the previously-mentioned Germans — as it were digesters of the Columbian discovery — but also contrary to tabulator Regiomontanus, Behaim was a voyager and explorer; he was a companion of — and learner from — other explorers, Portuguese explorers for that matter. He had arrived in Lisbon in 1484. On account of his mathematical knowledge he had been "appointed to the royal maritime commission."[23] He married a daughter of a Portuguese captain stationed on the Azores.[24]

Commissioned To Make Globe

It was after six years in Portuguese service that Behaim was commissioned by Nuremberg's City Council "to make the globe," and on it he wrote:

> Let no one doubt the simple arrangement of the world, and that every part may be reached in ships as here is seen.[25]

Naturally, this globe incorporated the Portuguese discoveries in Africa and the results of its circumnavigation, but it was without the imminent Columbian discoveries. Yet the hypothesis underlying them was the same. Says Samuel Eliot Morison:

> The scale, the eastward extension of Asia, and the narrow ocean on this globe are so similar to the false geographical notions on which Columbus based his voyage, as to suggest that Columbus and Behaim were collaborators. But there is no positive evidence of their trails ever crossing.[26]

This intriguing speculation on what so easily *might* have been grows even more intriguing and sadly comical if we listen to a letter from German astronomer Hieronymus Münzer, written from Nuremberg to the King of Portugal on July 14, 1493. He proposes an Atlantic voyage, and for its commander he recommends Behaim.[27] Neither Münzer nor Behaim knew at the time that the job had been done already, but under the Spanish flag. Behaim's 'American dream,' if he ever indulged in it, had been realized by Columbus.

A few months later, after Regiomontanus' mathematical improvement of navigation and Behaim's globe as *pre*-discovery utensils for discovery, the German contribution showed up in a new variant of its *post*-discovery roles. To name-giving, map-, atlas-, and globe-making was added what chronologically was the earliest post-discovery role: that of publicising the discovery. Here it is that Gutenberg, my townsman, deserves well of the New World, although he had been dead by around 24 years when it was discovered.

His invention speeded up and enlarged the distribution of the news.[28]

The Columbus letter of 1493, its original in Spanish, received in the same year its international circulation by Latin translation — in three versions printed in Rome by the German-run printing presses of Plannck and Silber. Within German-speaking territory it got printed in Basle. A comparative study in the "Printed Reports on the Early Discoveries and Their Reception," covering the period from 1493 to 1526 — that is, from Columbus to Cortés — reveals that the German-speaking areas of Europe produced the most of the printed reports, even more than Italy.[29]

If we take into account the political fact of the Habsburg dual monarchy — that is, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire under *one* ruler — Spanish and German printed reports amount to almost 50 per cent of the European output.[30]. As for the Spanish prints, the Seville printing house was run by a German family, the Krombergers. They had the printing monopoly in the New World. In 1539 Hans Kromberger arranged for the establishment of a branch office in Mexico City.[31]

The German printing presses furnished not only printed discovery reports in Latin and in the vernacular: they also printed the first German literary responses to the discovery. They start almost immediately — that is, already in 1494 — the literary reflector: very fittingly the symbol of a ship on its voyage through life, a ship full of — fools! Sebastian Brant of Strassburg and Basle was the first German author to contribute to the emerging European image of America. Two of its long-lasting facets, the treasures and the primeval charm of paradise, are unmistakable in his poetic allusions to "gold islands" and "naked people."[32] Translations of this book into Latin and modern European languages provided for the rapid spread of this early image of America.

Like Waldseemüller, Brant was an inhabitant of the upper Rhine region,[33] the area linking Burgundy and the Netherlands under Habsburg control, a control which is just about to embrace Spain.

The Spanish-German collaboration in politics and printing sets the stage for yet another German contribution. This time it relates not merely to discovery but also to exploration and early settlement.

The scene now for a second time shifts from Germany and Europe to overseas. Martin Behaim, the single voyager to the Azores and probably into West African waters in the 1480s,[34] is followed by a group undertaking. The first target is Spanish Venezuela; the second is Portuguese Brazil.

South German Financiers

The overseas scene had been prepared for by South German financiers. The actors who entered it were soldiers, mainly of leading rank, but they were also governors, discoverers, and explorers. Besides, there were small groups of colonists, including miners and women. Merchants and bankers, expecially of the Welsers and Fuggers of the city of Augsburg, invested capital in South American expeditions — the Welsers in Venezuela, the Fuggers in Chile and Peru.[35] Money combined with beauty later elevated a Welser girl even into the Imperial family: Charles V's niece was Philippine Welser, wife of Charles's nephew Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol.[36]

We are on historically familiar but not yet family ground when, in 1528, the Welsers concluded several treaties with Charles V; one of them set up a sort of proprietary colony in Venezuela, formerly the slave coast of the Caribbean.[37] After Maracaibo, San Felipe de Austria (St. Philip of Austria), the second major German settlement, in its Spanish name retains at least the Habsburg Austro-German background of the Empire.[38]

Earlier, the German contributions had been scientific, technological, and linguistic — all of them only auxiliary to discovery and exploration. Now the Germans had a chance of undertaking discoveries and explorations, even settlements of their own, although within the Spanish-German dual monarchy. The chance did not come to full fruition. Sebastian Brant's "gold islands and naked people" developed into inland targets of treasure expeditions and slave hunts, one fifth of the sales money going to the Emperor. This was Spanish-model style, practiced by the mainly Spanish soldiers, with German variants introduced by the German governors and commanders. One of the treaties with his Imperial Majesty provided for 400 African slaves to be acquired, transported to the New World, and sold within the following four years.[39] Such commitments were the conquistadorial rule of the day, but the German ones were no better than the rule.

History has its little ironies. What in the 1530s and 1540s was German participation in the Spanish South American game, turned into explicit revolt against the West and South European slave trade in the late 1680s. The first declaration for the abolition of slavery had German participants in William Penn's North American, Pennsylvanian, venture for signatories.[40]

German tenacity in Venezuela contributed two major and two minor expeditions, one discovering the Southeastern ascent to the plateau of Bogotá,[41] another being the longest of all South American explorations. It took almost five years.[42]

The German talent for family squabbles sometimes led to lack of coordination between governor and vice-governor. However, there are two consolation prizes, two literary reflexes. Of the four top people of the Welser merchant-adventurers' colony — Dalfinger, Federmann, Hohermut, and the aristocrat Philipp von Hutten — two confided their activities and feeling to paper. The literary reflex was to last much longer than the objects reflected.

The first separately-published German contribution to the autobiographical exploration reports has a very early vice-governor and conquistador for author: Nikolaus Federmann of the free city of Ulm. His *Indianische Historia (Indian History)* was printed in 1557, but covers activities between 1529 and 1532.[43] Aside from its ethnological and historical value, it is an adventure and suspense story, often in military notebook style, a story built around the motif of the search for two things — El Dorado and the so-called Southern Sea. Neither one was found. The events are told against the scenic background of 'Western Venezuela' and the 'highlands' of Colombia.[44] Unfortunately, Federmann never chronicled his second stay in Venezuela, including the march to Bogotá in 1536.

Philipp von Hutten Account

Not a monograph like Federmann's expedition chronicle, but published seven years earlier, is the report of the last outstanding personality contributing to the early history of South America. Philipp von Hutten's account is appended to a 1550 German translation of Cortés' messages of the conquest of Mexico. The Hutten part was recently rediscovered by John Alden of Providence's John Carter Brown Library. This is the account young Hutten gave to his father of his first expedition of 1535-38. It was stimulated by Pizarro's success in Peru. A chronicle of sufferings, native and German-Spanish, of cannibalism, likewise native and Christian, of gold found little, of Amazons found not at all, this tale was of an expedition eventually looked upon solely as an endurance test.

This largely factual report is complemented by eight often warmly personal letters to father and mother, brothers and friends which are of great psychological interest. They went unpublished until the end of the 18th century[45] and fill the interval between the first and second expeditions. Lasting from 1541 to 1546, it is a renewed but more successful search for El Dorado, this time in Eastern Colombia and Southern Venezuela. A colorful personality found a colorful end: shortly before Hutten's planned return from this longest

Missionary accounts of the natives of the Americas aroused much interest, especially when illustrated.

expedition on South American record, he was assassinated by a Spanish administrator and rival, who in his turn was brought to justice by a Spanish colonial court.[46]

Such literary reflexes of the early German presence in South America are not limited to the short-lived Welser colony and its judicial aftermath, the whole adventure having lasted from 1528 to 1556.

The literary response also encompasses the experiences of Hans Staden in Brazil. His *Warhafftige Historie (True History)*, like Federmann's chronicle published in 1557, is a literary reflex which contributes to yet another early type of colonial literature: the blend of shipwreck and Indian captivity. The storyteller, an intelligent and observant Hessian gunner, relates two voyages — one aboard a Portuguese, another aboard a Spanish ship — around the middle of the 16th century. In Portuguese Brazil he meets Germans and Frenchmen so that a fourfold image of European life overseas emerges. The captivity part of the story is full of suspense and grotesque humor, due to the motif of cannibalism counterbalanced by Christian confidence in God the Saviour.[47] By making the captive often experience his fate as a post-figuration of Christ's suffering and resurrection, Staden contributes one of the earliest typological captivity stories.[48] Around fifty woodcuts, many of them grossly realistic, illustrate the book. Its second section is not narrative but descriptive — an ethnological gem.[49]

The mostly unsuccessful searchers for El Dorado (the view from above), and the liberated

A picture of marine life illustrating Theodore de Bry's *Americae Tertia Pars*, published in Frankfurt in 1592. (Courtesy Bryn Mawr College)

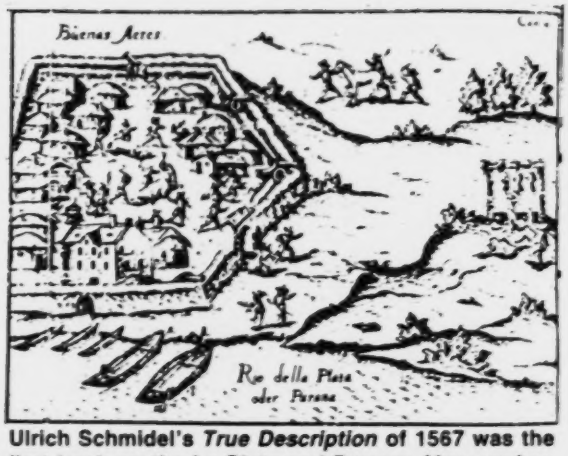
prisoner (the view from below), have for partial complement a third type of literary reflector and protagonist: the simple soldier not only as military expedition man but also as participant in settlement building — in the founding of Buenos Aires, anew as searcher for the fabulous Amazons, and finally as wanderer in the wilderness. These are among the roles played by Ulrich Schmidel of Straubing, Bavaria, in his book *Warhafftige Beschreibung (True Description)*. Printed in 1567, Schmidel's report describes his fortunes between 1535 and 1554.[50] This time the Welsers have not all but only one finger in the Spanish pie.[51] The setting is not Venezuela but mainly the Rio de la Plata Valley, and the conquistadors are Mendoza and Ayola; later, when the scene shifts westward toward the Gran Chaco and Peru, Schmidel serves commanders Rivero and Irola. At the end, called home by his ailing brother, he makes his way toward the coast of Brazil, escaping the Tupi cannibals. Schmidel's is the most frequently published narrative of all four. In addition to the German version, there are Latin, Spanish, and French ones. His is the first book on La Plata history.

Focus on Spanish America

As one could notice, these expeditionary contributions and their literary reflexes are, in their way, just as early as were those auxiliary activities of mathematical calculation — name-giving, map-, atlas-, and globe-making, printing and illustrating early foreign reports. All of them had one feature in common: they dealt with, or were stimulated by, South America and, to a much lesser degree, Mexico. Spanish rather than Portuguese America was the center of attention. The Habsburg power complex is reflected in this direction of interest.

Its impact can be pursued right into the 17th century. It makes itself felt in the rising number of German Catholic missionaries and their reports. One of them, written by Father Honorius, contributes to Caribbean folk-musicology.[52]

With the Catholic-Protestant tensions increasing in the 17th century Europe and the Habsburgs functioning as the leaders of the Catholics, Protestant Germany's interest in South America, for a short while, concentrates on one



Ulrich Schmidel's *True Description* of 1567 was the first book on the La Plata and Buenos Aires region.

of the Protestant Netherland strongholds on that continent: the Dutch Brazil of 1630 to 1661. The German governor, Prince Johann Moritz of Nassau-Siegen, assembled around his little court "German scientists" and even "poets."[53] Here, during this shortlived venture of around thirty years, German poetry is composed overseas, mainly in Pernambuco. It contributes to the already flourishing colonial literature of South America. The first German poem dates from 1648.[54]

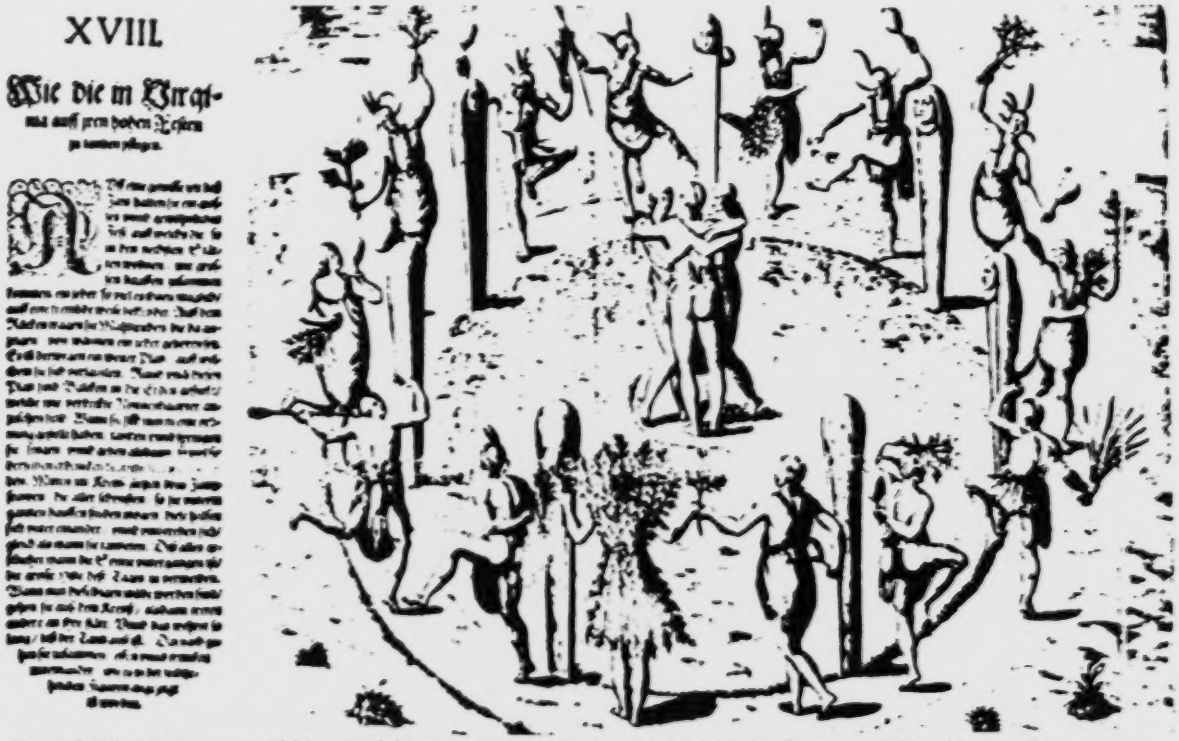
So much for the German gifts to the early colonization of South America — Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch — until the middle of the 17th century.

Naturally, German contributions to North America begin as such to equally — Habsburgian Spanish Mexico. Printers, miners, and missionaries form a triad which somewhat modifies the German gifts to South America. The outstanding figure of the missionary category is Father Kino, (i.e. Eusebius Kühn), well-known to the mission history of Northern Mexico, Arizona, and California in the late 17th century, the first German contributor to American spiritual autobiography.[55]

Contributions to French, English, Dutch, and Swedish North America, in a modified way, continue the pattern recognizable in South America. Publicizing the discoveries, explorations, and early settlement attempts of these colonizing nations comes first; exportation of intellect as well as trading, administrating, and exploring individuals follow; immigrant groups and literary talents bring up the rear. The time span extends from the 1570s to the 1680s and brings my story to its end.

It is mainly Protestant Reformation Germany which, for this religious reason, contributes least to French, more to Dutch and Swedish, most to English North America. A few examples may suffice.

A Lutheran refugee from the Catholic bishop of Liege's territory, settling down in his wife's native city of Frankfurt, Theodorus von Bry may stand for the publicizing activities. New England's responses to German theological and scientific books may represent the category of intellectual exports; Johann Lederer, a physician from Hamburg and early immigrant into Virginia, will speak



Hans Staden's account of his captivity among cannibals was so popular it was reprinted by de Bry.

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Sir Walter Ralegh's *History of the World*, published in 1614, used this illustration to picture the new British colony of *Guiana* in South America. The New World was both Eden-like idyll and the natural world of satanic spirits. Writers and illustrators gave their imaginations free reign in picturing the new land. (Courtesy Bryn Mawr College)

for the explorers; Franz Daniel Pastorius, leader of the very first Rhine-Main group of German servants and settlers arriving abroad the *America* on August 20, 1683, coordinator of their activities with those of the Krefelders, the later arrivals of October 6, and founder of Germantown, Pennsylvania, will give voice to these newcomers.

Establish "Noble Savage" Image

'A citizen of Frankfurt,' as he sometimes signs dedications of his publications,[56] Theodorus von Bry, his sons, and two relatives — from 1590 to the early 1630s — are the top publicizers of illustrated news, e.g. of French Florida, English Roanoke, and many other great voyages. The "de Bry" publications help fix in European minds *one* picture of the American native: that of the noble savage with a body resembling classical sculpture.[57]

The reception of German theological, legal, historical, and geographical literature is testified to by 17th century Harvard library lists and by ever-so-many last wills of New Englanders[58] — also by its citation in New England literature.[59]

What Lutheran theology meant to John Cotton's Boston successor, the Rev. John Norton, can be grasped from Norton's funeral elegy on Cotton:

> *Luther* pulled down the Pope. . .
> *Cotton* whose Learning, Temper, Godliness,
> The *Germane* Phoenix lively did express.
> *Melancthon*'s all, may *Luther*'s word but pass
> *Melancthon*'s all in one, in our Great *Cotton* was.[60]

Germany as a yardstick of comparison returns at such an unexpected place as Increase Mather's *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England* (1676). Says Mather:

> As a man that lived in *Luthers* time was wont to say that he did not fear the ruine of *Germany* as long as *Luther* was alive, So neither do I fear the utter ruine of *New England*, so long as any of the first Generation who for the Gospels sake came out into this wildernesse, are alive.[61]

Particularly incisive is the contribution which German literature made to the scientific theory and practice of John Winthrop, Jr., the first governor of Connecticut. He owned the largest colonial collection of German books on alchemy and metallurgy. It included Rosicrucian literature. He was conversant with catalogs from the Frankfurt book fairs.[62] With books going back

and forth between him and Roger Williams, it is no surprise that in April 1645 a German publication on medicine and chemistry is among them.[63] So close was intellectual Germany to intellectual Rhode Island and Connecticut in early settlement days.[64]

With Johann Lederer, M.D., the scene shifts to the South. *The Discoveries of John Lederer* (1672), an English translation of a lost Latin original, reports three separate "marches from Virginia to the West of Carolina"[65] to find a path across the Appalachians to the West. The three attempts were undertaken in 1670, the first in the company of three Indians, the second with whites and Indians who gave up, for Lederer to continue with one Indian only, the last attempt once again in white and Indian company.[66]

> The ascent was so steep. . .and we so tired, that having with much ado gained the top of the highest, we drank the Kings Health in Brandy, gave the Mountain his name.[67]

How practical! No passage to the West was found, but the Shenandoah Valley had been discovered.

A literary discovery goes with it. Lederer's description of mountain scenery and the evocation of moods[68] contribute to early colonial literature the first touches of the pre-romantic sublime.

Historical Revelations of Germany

Two years later, in 1674, and back to New England, we find ourselves treated to historical revelations about Germany by John Josselyn's "Observations of America" appended to *An Account of Two Voyages:*

> *Boniface* Bishop of *Mens* a City in *Germany*, was accused before Pope *Zachary* in the time of *Ethelred* King of the East-Angles for Heresie, &c. in that he averred there were Antipodes. *St. Augustine*[s] and *Lactantius*[']opinion was that there were none.[69]

In his entry for "Anno Domini 1160" Josselyn went one better:

> In the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa's* time certain West Indians came into *Germany*.[70]

Weren't we early in receiving such visitors from overseas? Anyway, German contributions like these to Indian lore prove sufficiently that not only fact but also fancy are involved.

With Francis Daniel Pastorius we return from fanciful to factual history, and now find ourselves in the middle colonies, near early Philadelphia. It is not, as with John Lederer, the fascination of the wilderness but the amenities of a beginning urban civilization that German-American literature reflects. They include recipes for a disciplined daily routine and leave time for travels of the mind. Both are mirrored in Pastorius' writings, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, English, Dutch, French. My first example will sound very familiar, thanks to Franklin's publicizing the jingle:

> Early to bed and early to rise,
> Makes a man healthy, wealthy,
> and wise.[71]

My second example takes the reader on a tour of the world:

> When I solidly do ponder,
> How *Thoughts wander*; I must wonder,
> ....
> They in haste ... are flying,
> ....
> Thro' Great Britain, France and
> Holland,
> Denmark, Moscovy, Spain, Polland,
> Portugal and Italy,
> Oft'ner yet thro' Germany.
> Hence returning to Braganza,
> To the Cape of Bon Speranza;
> So, by way of Africa,
> Home to Penn Silvania.[72]

Pennsylvania has become home. This last contribution still reflects travel and discovery. Yet the ultimate reflex is of settlement. The German contribution is not made any longer *to* America but *in* America. We are at the beginning of German-American literature in English in North America, counterpart to those earlier German-American contributions of the 1640s in South America. These Pennsylvania beginnings, even in their smallness, foreshadow other regional (including Minnesotan) beginnings of almost exactly 150 years later.

The improvers of navigation, the globe-, map-, and atlas-makers, the image builders, the name giver, the printers and publishers, the miners, soldiers, and governors, the settlement builders and pioneer women, the explorers, missionaries, and literary reporters of their experiences, the exporters of intellectual goods, the rural and urban immigrants, the poets: here they were, all of them contributors to the discovery, exploration, or early settlement of the Americas. By survey of individual example they were presented, not in a spirit of flag-waving but just to remind us all of one thing: the making of early colonial America was neither a national solo nor a bi-national duet, but a chorus including the German voice, a 'chorus line' rehearsal of many other voices from Europe, native America, and Africa.

Notes

[1]Georg Friederici, *Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europäer*: Einleitung zur Geschichte der Besiedlung Amerikas durch die Völker der Alten Welt, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Perthes, 1936), p. 289.

[2]Dietrich Gerhard et al., eds. *Americana in deutschen Sammlungen* (Munich: Omnia K.G., 1967), vol. 8, pp. 0038-0039, no. 6722.

[3]Lieselotte Overvold, "Wagner's American Centennial March: Genesis and Reception," *Monatshefte*, 68 (1976), 179-187, esp. 186.

[4]As for the Latinized form see e.g. *Mondo Nuovo: Paesi novamente retrovati da Alberico Vesputio Florentino*, 1507 (microfilm). *Cf. Epistola Albericii, De novo mundo* (Rostock, ca. 1505), cit. in David Beers Quinn, "New Geographical Horizons: Literature," *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiapelli (Berkeley-Los Angeles: UCP, 1976), vol. 2, p. 642, Fig. 98.

[5]Gustav H. Blanke, *Amerika im englischen Schrifttum des 16, und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Bochum-Langendreer: Pöppinghaus, 1962), p. 74, n. 22; Samuel Flag Bernis, " 'America' and 'Americans,' " *Yale Review*, 57 (1968), 321-36; William G. Niederland, "The Naming of America," *The Unconscious Today: Essays in Honor of Max Schur*, ed. Mark Kanzer, (New York: International Universities Press, 1971), pp. 459-72; *see* also Blanke (1974) in note 11.

[6]John Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages, The Second Addition* (London, 1675), rpt. *MHSC*, III, 3 (Cambridge, Mass., 1833), p. 355. As for Cotton Mather see Blanke, *Amerika im englischen Schrifttum*, p. 77.

[7]Blanke, *ibid.*, p. 75.

[8]*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 13, pp. 488-89, sub "Hylocomylus," corrected in vol. 15, p. 796: "Hylacomylus;" Cf. *Die Grossen der Weltgeschichte*, vol. 12, p. 810.

[9]Harold Jantz, "Images of America in the German Renaissance," *First Images of America*, ed. Chiapelli, vol. 1, p. 98.

[10]*Ibid.*

[11]*Ibid.*, pp. 98-100; Blanke, *Amerika im englischen Schrifttum*, p. 74, n. 22, and "Waldseemüllers Platz in der geistigen Entdeckung Amerikas," FAS Publikationen des Fachbereichs Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz in Germersheim, Reihe A, Bd. 1, ed. Dietrich Briesemeister (Frankfurt: Lang, 1974), pp. 92-(120). Please note that (1) *Cosmographiae Introductio*, chap. VII anticipates the passage of chapter IX that is usually cited, (2) the first edition, printed on May 7, 1507 (see Impressum) has "America" for marginal pointer, rpt. *Drucke und Holzschnitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 12 (Amsterdam: Rodope, 1962), p. 30, whereas the edition rpt. in *The March of America* series, (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1966), vol. 2, p. 30 has "Americo." In both bodies of the text the nominative form "America" never occurs. *Cf.* Franz Laubenberger, *Der Urheber des Namens Amerika* (Bonn: Institute of Geography, The University, 1959); Joy Rea, "On the Naming of America," *American Speech*, 39 (1964), 42-50. *Cf.*n.5.

[12]Jantz, "Images of America," p. 99.

[13]*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* vol. 13, pp. 488-89; Blanke, *Amerika im englischen Schrifttum*, p. 75; Norman J.W. Thrower, "New Geographical Horizons: Maps," *First Images of America*, ed. Chiapelli, vol. 2, p. 673, n. 23.

[14]Blanke, *ibid.*

[15]Thrower, "New Geographical Horizons," p. 662.

[16]*Ibid.*, p. 665.

[17]Jantz, "Images of America," p. 96.

[18]Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance 1420-1620* (Cambridge, Mass.: HUP, 1955), pp. 260-61.

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 261.

[20]*Ibid.*, p. 264.

[21]*Ibid.*, p. 2.

[22]*Ibid.*, p. 265.

[23]Johnson, "New Geographical Horizons: Concepts," *First Images of America*, ed. Chiapelli, p. 625; *cf.* p. 619.

[24]Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942), pp. 76-77; Penrose, *Travel and Discovery*, p. 45.

[25]Johnson, "New Geographical Horizons: Concepts," p. 625.

[26]Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea,* p. 77.

[27]*Ibid.*

[28]Thomas R. Adams, "Some Bibliographical Observations on and Questions about the Relationship between the Discovery of America and the Invention of Printing," *First Images of America*, ed. Chiapelli, vol. 2, pp. 529-36.

[29]Rudolf Hirsch, *ibid.*, pp. [533], 544, 540.

[30]*Ibid.*, p. 544.

[31]Thomas W. McDonald, "The Echániz Press: America's First Printing Press?," The Book Club of California, *Quarterly News Letter*, vol. 25 (Winter, 1959), no. 1, p. 4. But *cf.* Jantz, "Images of America," p. 95.

[32]Jantz, *ibid.*, p. 96.

[33]Hildegard Binder Johnson, *Carta marina — World Geography in Strassburg, 1525* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota P, 1963); Thrower, "New Geographical Horizons," p. 673, n. 23.

[34] Penrose, *Travel and Discovery*, p. 45.

[35]Friederici, *Der Charakter der Entdeckung*, vol. 2, pp. 263-64; Konrad Häbler, *Die überseeischen Unternehmungen der Welser und ihrer Gesellschafter* (Leipzig: Hirschfeld, 1903); Germán Arciniegas, *Germans in the Conquest of America* (New York: Macmillan, 1943); Juan Friede, *Los Welser en la Conquista de Venezuela* (Caracas-Madrid: Ediciones EDIME, 1961); Jantz, "Images of America," p. 104.

[36]Jantz, *ibid.*, p. 94.

[37]Friederici, *Der Charakter der Entdeckung*, p. 259.

[38]*Ibid.*, pp. 270, 262.

[39]*Ibid.*, pp. 263-64.

[40]Albert B. Faust, *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten in seiner Bedeutung für die amerikanische Kultur* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912), pp. 114-15.

[41]Friederici, *Der Charakter der Entdeckung*, p. 284.

[42]*Ibid.*, p. 285.

[43]*N. Federmanns und H. Stadens Reisen in Südamerica 1529 bis 1555*, ed. Karl Klüpfel, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. 47 (Stuttgart, 1859), pp. 1-86; Arnold Federmann, *Deutsche Konquistadoren in Südamerika* (Berlin: Helbing, 1938), pp. 81-160. Nikolaus Federmann, *Indianische Historia*, ed. Juan Friede (Munich: Renner, 1965).

[44]Penrose, *Travel and Discovery*, p. 309.

[45]"Zeitung aus India Junckher Philipps von Hutten. Aus seiner, zum Theil unleserlich gewordenen Handschrift," *Historisch-litterarisches Magazin*. In Gesellschaft mehrerer Gelehrten angelegt von Johann Georg Meusel. Erster Theil. (Bayreuth-Leipzig, 1785), pp. 51-101. Albert R. Schmitt, "The Elusive Philipp von Hutten: Colonizer in Venezuela," *Journal of German-American Studies*, 13 (1978), 63-71.

[46]This is reflected in "Zeitung", *ibid.*, pp. 101-17; see also Friederici, *Der Charakter der Entdeckung*, vol. 2, pp. 284-87.

[47]*Reisen N. Federmanns und H. Stades in Südamerika 1529-1555* (rpt. Amsterdam: Rodope, 1969), pp. 87-197. Duncan Smith, ". . .beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der Wilden/Nacketen/Grimmigen Menschfresser Leuthen": The German Image of America in the Sixteenth Century," *The German Contribution to the Building of the Americas: Studies in Honor of Karl J.R. Arndt*, eds. Gerhard K. Friesen and Walter Schatzberg (Hanover, N.H.: Clark University Press, 1977), pp. 1-19.

[48]*See Reisen N. Federmanns und H. Stades*, e.g. pp. 127, 131, 132, 133, 134-35, 142, 156-57, 162.

[49]The narrative part comprises pp. 99-166, the descriptive one pp. 167-94.

[50]*Ulrich Schmidels Reise nach Süd-Amerika in den Jahren 1534 bis 1554*, nach der Münchener Handschrift herausgegeben von Valentin Langmantel, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins Stuttgart, vol. 184 (Tübingen: Laupp, 1889); *Wahrhaftige Historie einer wunderbaren Schiffahrt. . .* Anjitzt an Tag geben durch Engelbert Hegaur (Munich: Langen, 1914); *Der erste Deutsche am Rio de la Plata Utz Schmidl von Straubing*, ed. Max Tepp (Buenos Aires: Die Umwelt, 1934); Facsimile edition of Schmidel's Nuremberg 1602 edition (Graz, 1962).

[51]Schmidel, ed. Langmantel, p. 22; rpt. Graz, p. 1.

[52]Jantz, "Images of America," pp. 102-03, Honorius Philoponus (pseud.), *Nova typis transacta navigatio* (Linz, 1621). Two variant copies are available in John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.

[53]Jantz, *ibid.*, p. 103.

[54]Philip von Zesen, *Hoch-deutscher Helikon* (Wittenberg, 1649), 2. Theil, $A5^{v}$ - $A6^{r}$ ["A poem, dated on ($A6^{r}$):] Farnabuci Ind. scribebat die 12 Martii, Anno 1648, [and signed,] T. / Johannes Casparus Clusius, Medicus." Karl F. Otto, Jr., Philip von Zesen: *A Bibliographical Catalogue* (Bern-München: Francke, 1972), Bibliographien zur deutschen Barockliteratur, vol. 1, pp. 66-67. "3.Theil ($A6^{r}$) An Herrn H. Mühlingen / aus West-Indischem Fernabuk. [signed on ($A7^{v}$):] Johan Wilhem Marschalk." *Ibid.*, p. 68. *Cf.* Jantz, "Amerika im deutschen Dichten und Denken," *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (Berlin: Schmidt, 1962), col. 317. See also *ibid.* , col. 316: "Das Gedicht, das Gottfried Finkelthaus 1641 bei seiner Rückkehr aus Brasilien schrieb, enthält fast nichts von amerikanischem Interesse."

[55]"Report and Relation of New Conversions in Pimeria Alta," *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest 1542-1706*, ed. Herbert Eugene Bolton, Original Narratives (New York: Scribner's, 1916). The title of Kino's autobiography is *Favores Celestiales*.

[56]*Das vierdte Buch / Von der neuwen Welt* (Frankfurt, 1594), "Vorrede," rpt. Die bibliophilen Taschenbücher (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1977).

[57]Jantz, "Images of America," pp. 100-01; Jantz, "The New World in the Treasures of an Old European Library," in Herzog August Library Catalogue of same title (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Library, 1976), p. 33.

[58]Thomas Goddard Wright, *Literary Culture in Early New England* (1st ed. 1920, rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1966).

[59]Harold S. Jantz, "German Thought and Literature in New England, 1620-1820," *JEGP*, 41 (1942), 1-45.

[60]Version as printed in John Scottow, *A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony* (Boston, 1694), pp. 75-76; rpt. 4 *Coll. MHS*, vol. 4, (Boston, 1858), p. 331.

[61]Rpt. in *So Dreadful a Judgement: Puritan Responses to King Philip's War 1676-1677*, eds. Richard Slotkin and James K. Folsom (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan UP, 1978), p. 192.

[62]Jantz, "German Thought and Literature," pp. 6-7, 10-11; Wright, *Literary Culture,* pp. 30, 32-34.

[63]Roger Williams announces "to send you the Medulla. . .," *The Complete Writings of Roger Williams*, rpt. Russell & Russell (New York, 1963), vol. 6, p. 143. *See* also *Winthrop Papers* (Boston: MHS, 1947), vol. 5: 1645-1649, p. 30. Conrad Khunrath, *Medulla destillatoria et medica sextum aucta & renovata: das ist: Gründliches und vielbewahrtes Destillier und Artznei Buch, darinnen begriffen, wie der Spiritus vini. . .auch allerley köstlich Olileten, Spiritus, Salia &c. auss mancherley Animalibus, Mineralibus und Vegetabilibus, Künstlich können destilliert, und in quintam Essentiam zur höchsten Exaltation gebracht*,. . . (Leipzig, n.d.; Hamburg, 1605; 1621-23, 5th ed.; 1638, 6th ed. *See* NCU.

[64]As for a later link see "Christian Lodowick of Rhode Island" in Jantz, "German Thought and Literature," pp. 16-17.

[65]Rpt. in *The March of America*, vol. 25.

[66]"March 1669" for the beginning of the first "march" is surely to be understood as the 'Old Style' date, equaling March 1670 in 'New Style.'

[67]Lederer, *The Discoveries*, p. 22.

[68]*See* Frieder Busch, *Natur in Neuer Welt: Bericht und Dichtung der amerikanischen Kolonialzeit 1493-1776* (Munich: Fink, 1974), pp. 77-78.

[69]3 *Coll. MHS* 3, p. 357.

[70]*Ibid.*, p. 358.

[71]Jantz, "The New World in the Treasures of an Old European Library," p. 40.

[72]*Seventeenth-Century American Poetry*, ed. Harrison T. Meserole (New York: Norton, 1972), p. 294.

Three Literary Aspects of the German in America: Immigrant, Homeland, and American Views

by Hans Galinsky

Explanation: *Single quote marks are used to indicate words or passages originally in German but translated into English and quoted in English. Some words are spaced out to focus attention on them.*

Perspectives on the German in America are predominantly non-literary. It is mainly his immigration history and the contributions he has made to this country's settlement, society, culture, and technology which have attracted scholarly attention.[1] The literary perspective has had its appliers. But the German in an American setting as portrayed by literary means has not been a *continuous* subject of study. This is the more strange because American and German literatures abound in empirical presentations and imaginative creations of German figures in the United States.[2]

One of the reasons for this comparative neglect on the part of scholars may be the bewildering variety of applicable perspectives. For this paper I have selected merely three of them: the immigrant, the homeland, and the American perspective. I have restricted them to the German immigrant view, to the homeland one as expressed by that type of back-home writer who has never been to America, not even for the shortest of visits, and to the Anglo-American view.

As for individual representatives of these three angles of observation and vision, I limited myself to German immigrant Francis Daniel Pastorius, back-home author Goethe, and Anglo-American William Carlos Williams. Specific reasons for this debatable choice will, hopefully, emerge from the paper itself. It covers the late 17th and early 18th, the late 18th and early 19th, and the first half of the 20th century.

Pastorius, well-known founder of Germantown, focuses on the German in the new world of Pennsylvania, new in the geographical, socio-economic, linguistic, but also religious sense. In his extensive prose, as far as it consists of public, promotional writings and private correspondence, the German fellow-colonist largely serves as an advertising asset to attract additional countrymen to tolerant, fertile, and peaceful Pennsylvania.[3] Regional differences between 'Low' and 'High' Germans and occasional sectarian controversies are not glossed over.[4]

Not printed but confined to manuscript shape, the poetry is much more intimate, and, accordingly, more informative. In it the situation of the first native-borns and their parents in their new inter-ethnic environment finds its expression. The German immigrant, with his natural wish to hand down the values inherent in his customs and manners, is behind the following pieces. One stresses the value of learning, and of books as its transmitters.

> Dear Children! Come and look
> Often in your Father's book;
> Not only look, but understand,
> For Learning's more than house and land.
> A house may burn, the land be spent,
> True Learning never has an end:
> True Learning is most excellent.[5]

The immigrant speaking as teacher is accompanied by the immigrant as ethnic observer and comparatist. The pleasures of the table and the limitations of national literary tastes come up for epigrammatic wit, chiastic patterning, and punning ingenuity:

> The English can eat flesh both without herbs
> and bread,
> Flesh without herbs and bread to Germans is
> black Lead.[6]

> *Hans Sachs* and *David Lindsay* write
> And all is Verse what they indite,
> But Verse per verse, which Modern's loath.
> Pray! tell me WHO is best of both?
> The German doubtless will say Sachs,
> The English of his Lindsay cracks.[7]

Idealized bust of Franz Daniel Pastorius by J. Otto Schweitzer.

The view of the German colonist which emerges from the next poem is a strikingly quietist one, that of the happy house owner and cultivator of his garden:

> Let Kings and Princes keep the wide Earth-Ball,
> I would not change my Garden with them all.[9]

This type of immigrant does not consider himself a bearer of a national mission. 'The possible establishment' of 'a little Germany' he speaks of in a letter to his parents in 1684 is tied to a political existence 'under a law- and justice-loving governour.' 'Under [him] we can lead a peaceful and quiet life, in godly gratitude. Amen.'[9]

Pastorius' poetic mind does not stay narrowly domestic. It also operates as an imaginary world-wide traveler:

> When I solidly do ponder,
> How *Thoughts wander;* I must wonder,
> And for Shame exclaim, and own,
> Mine are ranging up and down.
>
> Thro' Great Britain, France and Holland,
> Denmark, Moscovy, Spain, Polland,
> Portugal and Italy,
> Oft'ner yet thro' Germany.
> Hence returning to Braganza,
> To the Cape of Bon Speranza;
> So, by way of Africa,
> Home to Penn Silvania.[10]

Pennsylvania has become home. Nevertheless, the motif of a return to Europe is sounded at least three times. Twice a prominent fellow-colonist, Jacob Tellner, departing for Europe, receives farewell poems from Pastorius.[11] Once he sees himself as a potential returnee in retrospect. In a poem commemorating his friends David Lloyd and William Penn he confesses:

> 'Twas he & William Penn, that Caused me to stay
> In this then uncouth land, & howling Wilderness,
> Wherein I saw that I but little should possess,
> And if I would Return home to my Father's house,
> Perhaps great Riches and Preferments might espouse, &c.[12]

Against this background of potential return the image of America arising from another commemorative poem assumes poignant meaning:

Title page of one of Pastorius' promotional publications published in 1692. The title reads "Brief Geographical Description of the Lately Discovered American Country of Pennsylvania."

41 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Restrained in a ship, America by name.
Into America [Amo(a)rica:] we came:
A Countrey bitter-sweet, & pray! how can't be less,
Consid'ring all the World does lie in wickedness?
And though perhaps some thought, that Penn-Silvania
Should be expected, and dream'd of Utopia,
That Extramundane place (by Thomas Morus found,
. . . . .). . . .
Yet is it parcel of the odd and Cursed Ground, Gen. 3:17.[13]

"Land of Love" *("Amorica")* and "Bitter Land" *(Amarica")*, two puns effected by humanist Pastorius, combine into "A Countrey bitter-sweet". Pennsylvania, this "parcel of the . . .Cursed Ground", breeds fellow-immigrants whose human frailties sometimes appear in a light more humorous than melancholy. The bilingual pun at the beginning sets the tune:

Hanns has his hands and tongue at his command,
He keeps most fast, what he did promise, and
Verspricht, und lieferts nicht,
Das ist ein Schand.[14]

It is not only the established immigrant in the shape of the unreliable merchant or craftsman but also the newcomer in the garb of the mystic like Kelpius or the trickster like Sproegel, underhand land-patent purchaser and cheater of his countrymen,[15] it is the Swede,[16] the Netherlander[17] and the Welshman,[18] it is above all the native American who make the immigrant's intra- and inter-ethnic environment come to life in Pastorius' poetry and prose.[19]

Lutheran in his Franconian youth, leaning toward Pietism during his Frankfurt residence (1679-80, 1682-83), along with some of the Krefeld Mennonites joining the Pennsylvania Quakers, Pastorius served Germantown in a great many capacities. For seventeen years agent of a

An early view of Germantown.

Goethe as a young man.

Frankfurt-based real-estate and settlement company, lawyer, widely-traveled humanist polyglot, teacher, civic leader, and Late Baroque author, he was in an excellent position to observe and express the 'founder's' view on the German immigrant and on himself as one of them.

In his literary work the immigrant's linguistic context shows particularly clearly. It is multilingual and multi-dialectal.[20] The partial adoption of English from the very first helps explain why so many German-American contributions to American literature have gone unheeded as *German*-Americans' literary achievements.

It is fascinating to change our vantage point geographically and historically, i.e. from transatlantic immigrant to cisatlantic homeland author, and from colonial to post-American Revolution and post-Napoleonic 'European Restoration' times. The fascination is in the continuity *and* the change of view on the German in America.

Let's consult Goethe as our pre-announced example of home-based type of observer, the one that relies on the imagination plus written and oral information. It may be furnished by international books about America, by American visitors to Germany or returnees, mainly German ones. Like Pastorius, Goethe is Franconian by birth, lawyer

by academic training at more than one university, Strassburg among them, and some-time Frankfurt near-pietist.[21] Will such unexpected points of contact make for convergent views in spite of almost one century and an ocean dividing the observers?

It would be instructive to watch the slow emergence, in Goethe's works, of the figure of the immigrant, both the prospective and the actual one, through its antecedents and their transmutations.[22] From Lili Schönemann's readiness to emigrate to America with young Goethe, her fiancé, the motif of the voyage to, and the actual stay in, America could be pursued through such plays as *Stella* and *Der Gross-Cophta.*[23] Instead, I am concentrating on the later novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1796) and the 1829 version of the *Wanderjahre.*

Anna Elisabeth Schönemann, who was ready to emigrate to America with her fiancé, Goethe. The young poet, who fell in love with her when she was 16, immortalized here as "Lili."

The figure of the returnee to Europe is the first (in order of appearance) to link the poetic world of Pastorius with the novelistic one of the *Lehrjahre.* The figure undergoes a historical change, though, from civilian to military returnee. The German participant in the American War of Independence is impersonated as Lothario. He is a German officer, just returned from the New World where 'in company with some Frenchmen he had served with distinction under the flag of the United States.'[24] In America he has learned a lesson: not what is exotic but what is nearest can provide a setting for being 'useful and necessary.' 'Here or nowhere is America,' with 'here' meaning Germany, encapsules the lesson.[25] The young returnee and landowner, although still in debts, entertains plans of profit-sharing with his farm workers. This is Goethe's new and slightly humorous view on the returned freedom fighter.

Lothario is flanked by two figures interested in doing what he had already done and returned from, i.e. going to America.

One is a variation on Lothario the idealist, and, once again, the frame of reference is historical. This time it reaches beyond revolutionary to post-Pastorius colonial Pennsylvania. Lothario's brother-in-law, the 'Count,' is a supporter of the Moravian or 'Herrnhuter' Brethren. For their benefit he will sell his German property and plan a trip to America. Modelled on the late Count Zinzendorf, founder of the Brethren's colony of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, this earthly saint is mockingly supposed to wish for a glamorous martyrdom as Indian missionary,[26] a vocation once envisioned by Pietist Pastorius.[27]

Fortunately, the materialist is not lacking in this company. In these critical years between the War of Independence and the impending French Revolution, Major Jarno, grown worldly-wise in his former years of courtier, is considering a distribution of proprietary and financial risks. He has established a mutual insurance company. A secularized Pastorius, he is about going to the States to look around for suitable investments. He invites Wilhelm Meister to accompany him. While Jarno will be touring America, his friend, the Abbé, will visit Russia.[28] What a glorious anticipation of modernity!

However, neither emigration nor immigration are presented as accomplished facts in the *Lehrjahre* (completed in 1796). The only person that has been in the New World has returned.

In the following 33 years, Goethe composed the first version of the *Wanderjahre,* and recast it, especially from 1825 to 1829. New socio-political ideas in both, Goethe's times and Goethe's imagination, are coming to the fore.[29] Emigration, merely a concomitant motif in the earlier novel, is moving toward its sequel's center. The cultural-historical aspect of 'Europe and America', and the philosophical — anthropological — aspect of 'Man, a migratory being' are now entering the second novel.

The returnee from America, Lothario's role in *Lehrjahre,* re-appears with an interesting variation. The landowner who entertains Wilhelm Meister as a guest and novice to the 'Province of Pedagogy', is fittingly called "der Oheim." Here he is, the proverbial 'uncle from America.' He is the returned grandson of a German diplomat, who, in the late 17th century, gave up his London post under the influence of William Penn.

Goethe at 78, about the time he recast *Wanderjahre*.

Like Pastorius, he emigrated to Pennsylvania. His Philadelphia-born son extended his father's estate near the Ohio frontier. The grandson, heir to these family lands, paid a visit to the Old World. Its culture recaptured the 3rd generation German-American. Like Lothario, this returnee transplants to Old World Germany American enlightened farming ideas and farmers' liberties. He becomes the philanthropical 'steward' of his German estate, running it "freisinnig", that is 'liberally,' and most efficiently.[30]

In the framework of this 'flashback' German-American family history, the authorial narrator for the first time reflects on emigration and the immigrant. He does so on the European, not merely German, scale. This American-European aspect leads to a comparison of the two continents. In Europe a homogeneous nation had come to be regarded as depending on conformity of manners and religion, while in America pluralism of moral and religious concepts was felt to be necessary for settlement.[31]

The German-American visitor to Europe grows aware of an option. On the one hand he may participate in a culture of 'several thousand years,' losing himself in 'big multitudes of regulated activity.' On the other hand he may, in America, play 'the roles of Orpheus and Lycurgus,' in other words, start poetry and law-making long after the mythical state of European history.[32] Aside from this borrowed terminology of mythical culture heroes, the returnee's image of life in America is conveyed in his own words: 'having skirmishes with the Iróquois. . .or cheating them by contracts in order to drive them out of their swamps, in which mosquitoes make you suffer until you die.'[33] In this way Pastorius' figure of the trickster continues. With him it was authentic Mr. Sproegel cheating his fellow Germans out of their lands or it was fellow-immigrants treating natives to adulterated brandy.[34] With Goethe it is the novelistic figure of the white man who fights or cheats the natives for possession of their lands.

Change and continuity of the trickster figure are paralleled by change and continuity of the figure of the land-investment and settlement-scheme organizer. In the *Lehrjahre* overseas investment and emigration functioned as a safety device for the wealthy few. In the *Wanderjahre* it turns into a way out for a large group movement. Goethe conceives of it as a settlers' association of needy farmers and craftsmen directed by aristocrats and the "Abbé". It is not the returned grandson of the ancient Pennsylvania immigrant, but the fourth generation, the returnee's nephew,[35] who is supervising this group-emigration scheme jointly with Lothario, once returned officer and now going to America for a second time, presumably for good.

Goethe's imaginative change from emigration as small "Band" undertaking[36] of the 1780s to a large-group enterprise of the 1820s is in exact keeping with the uptrend of German emigration statistics of the times.[37] So does the projected settlement near the Ohio frontier accord with one of the popular areas of actual German settlement. The imagined aristocratic management anticipates one of the actual administrative forms of German emigration to Texas.[38]

In *Wanderjahre,* America as the overseas option is suspended in a kind of classical balance. In the one scale there is the projected emigration to America, in the other there are what amounts to three individual counterweights: (1) staying in an old world of culture and of an aristocracy gradually liberalizing under the influence of America-enlightened German returnees, (2) colonizing less developed areas within Eastern Europe,[39] (3) entering the industrial age in Germany.[40]

Goethe's is a homeland author's perspective on the German in America. Characteristically, it concentrates on emigration, and this much more in the planning stage than that of actual performance. Facets of life in America are not presented but reported or conjectured.[41]

Not the novelist but the book critic and the explicator of his own poetry yield some insight into Goethe's thoughts on German ethnicity and inter-ethnicity in the American environment. Goethe's review of the 1822 report on German

immigration by Ludwig Gall, the 'commissar' of a German emigration society, who had been overseas in 1819/20, illustrates this point.[42] So does a much more surprising text, Goethe's comments on *"TYXH"* or *'the Accidental,'* one of the poems constituting the cycle "Urworte. Orphisch."[43]

Seen as a whole, Goethe's is the most comprehensive late 18th and early 19th century German attempt to combine under a homeland perspective three facets of the German in America: the military volunteer, the immigrant, much more prospective than actual, and the returnee. For historical reasons it is only in the latter categories that a comparison with Pastorius' immigrant view on the German in America reveals both continuity and change. The basic change lies in the fact that Goethe has subordinated all of these three facets to one perspective that exceeds both the German and America. The German in or to or back from America serves as a symbol of Man, that migratory being. It is into this dimension that also the contemporary tradition of the 'emigration song' has been raised in *Wilhelm Meister*.[44]

The American view is to complete our triad of perspectives. Compared to our previous observers, William Carlos Williams yields entirely new insights but also old ones, though sometimes of a new intensity.

The German in America, working as physician or scientist is a feature which Williams, in the course of his scientific and medical training, became aware of. In his *Autobiography* and *Selected Letters* one meets Dean Gauss of Princeton,[45] along with that brilliant young New York pathologist Charles Krumwiede. For Williams he embodied that "German devotion to detail, that thoroughness, that relentless determination to come at the evasive core of a problem until it has been laid bare."[46] In Dr. Williams', the gynecologist's and pediatrician's, short stories there is room for such a "poor brat" and "living skeleton" as Jean Beicke, an 11-month-old baby girl of German immigrants doomed to die in a Paterson or Passaic hospital.[47]

William Carlos Williams as a young man

Also of thematic newness is the presentation of the German immigrant as skilled industrial worker, and of his relation to his employer and the unions. Against this socio-economic context Williams narrates the family saga of Joe Stecher, immigrant printer from a Silesia in the days of pre-1914 Imperial Germany. It is not a typical "from rags to riches" story that Williams offers, but the sober and humorous account of moderate success, with failure admixed to it. By way of a trilogy it transmutes into art the life of Dr. Williams' immigrant father-in-law, son of a forester from near Breslau,[48] and the lives of his wife and their three children. Of the novels composing the trilogy — *White Mule* (1937), *In the Money* (1942), and *The Build-Up* (1950) — I like the first best. Nowhere has a German-Norwegian baby girl of the first native-born generation been portrayed so intimately and comically, and nowhere have the descriptions of immigrant family life and of immigrant work, dramatically culminating in a New York printers' strike, been balanced so well.

Unparalled, too, is Williams' perceptivity of what World War I meant to America's Germans.[49] Of striking newness is also an encounter of a post-1945 German in America. Williams tells of it in a short poem whose syntactically broken lines render the speaking voice:

> The young German poked his head
> in at the door, handed me
> an advertising leaflet for some
> drug manufacturer and left,
>
> coloring furiously after a few
> thinly spoken words. My
> attention was sharply roused.
> It seemed a mind well worth
>
> looking into. And beneath that,
> another layer, Phoenix-
> like. It was almost, I confess,
> as though I envied him.[50]

I do not know of any briefer and any more hopeful image of young Germany in America in recent Anglo-American literature.

New, though only as to intensity of perception, not as to subject, is Williams' view of the German's place in an inter-ethnic society. Neither Pastorius nor Goethe had neglected this aspect. Joe's Norwegian wife, her relatives and her Black help in the Stecher home are more than matched

William Carlos Williams in the late 1920s

William Carlos Williams in the late 1940s

by the multi-ethnic work force in the print shop.[51] Occasional frictions and, on the part of the Stecher family as seen from the younger daughter's viewpoint, a persistent feeling of "foreignness" are not hidden.[52]

The mild mockery — with which Goethe's would-be Moravian missionary was tinged — recurs with Williams in a broader and more intensive variation. With Klaus Ehrens, an evangelist preaching in the park of Paterson, he achieves a partly narrative, partly scenic presentation of a German religious immigrant. It dominates a whole section of Williams' long poem *Paterson.*[53] We are back almost full circle to Pastorius, and to Goethe's German disciple of William Penn in *Wanderjahre.* The difference lies in that Ehrens has experienced conversion not before but after immigration. Complete convergence is reached where Pastorius' pun "[Amo(a)rica:]. ./ A Countrey bitter-sweet" recurs in the paradox "America the golden!/ . . . ./we love thee bitter/land".[54]

There is a final traditional element in Williams' perspective on America's German. What to Pastorius was a "little Germany" to be established under Penn's benevolent government turns up again with Williams. Aging Joe Stecher encounters "Kronstadt," N.J., half-pseudonym for Carlstadt, N.J.:

"Kronstadt was an old German-speaking community. . . .It was independent, believed in small enterprises and stayed conservative. . . .Here, if his eyes did not deceive him, was a part of old Germany."[55]

It "was a freethinking town founded by a Carl Weiss, a German Swiss, in the middle of the last century."[56] Once again we are back to a founder like Pastorius, but unlike him in point of religion.

Thanks to a keenly observant doctor-poet and prose writer,[57] second-generation American Williams, the fullest view of the German in America has emerged from an Anglo-American. His Stecher trilogy has come closest (in its own way) to the ideal Euro-American emigration-and-immigration prose epic envisioned by Goethe in his review of Ludwig Gall's report.[58]

Thus our threefold perspective on the German in America — an immigrant, homeland, and American perspective — has spanned three centuries. Both its continuity and its change will surely go on stimulating the imagination of authors over here and over there.

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Professor Galinsky has lectured at dozens of American, Canadian, and Australian universities as well as in Belgium, France, England and Scotland. He has 15 books and more than 100 articles to his credit, primarily in linguistics, and 14 reviews or review articles in the area of German-American Studies. He is a co-founder of the German Association for American Studies and served as the vice-president from 1962-1966. Since 1957 he has organized inter-departmental university exchange programs with American and Canadian universities for the University of Mainz. He is a full professor at Mainz and has served as acting dean and dean. Since retiring from administrative duties in 1977, he continues to serve on examination boards for masters and doctoral candidates.

Notes

[1]Günter Moltmann, ed., *Deutsche Auswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert: Sozialgeschichliche Beiträge.* Amerikastudien/American Studies, vol. 44 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976); Willi Paul Adams, ed., *Die deutschsprachige Auswanderung in die Vereinigten Staaten: Berichte über Forschungsstand und Quellenbestände.* Materialien, vol. 14 (Berlin: John F. Kennedy-Institut für Amerikastudien, Freie Universität Berlin, 1980); Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1909, 1st ed., New York: Houghton, 1927, 2nd rev. ed.); Henry A. Pochmann, *German Culture in America 1600-1900* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957); Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *German-Americana* (Metuchen, N.J. :Scarecrow Press, 1975); Idem, *German-American Literature* (*ibid.*, 1977).

[2]Preston Albert Barba, "Emigration to America Reflected in German Fiction," *German American Annals,* n.s. 12 (1914), 193-227; Nelson Van de Luyster, "Emigration to America as Reflected in the German Novel of the 19th Century, Especially in the Fiction of Bitzius, Laube, Gutzkow, Auerbach, Freytag, Storm, Keller, Spielhagen, Heyse, Raabe," Diss. University of North Carolina 1943; Fritz Martini, "Auswanderer, Rückkehrer, Heimkehrer: Amerikaspiegelungen im Erzählwerk von Keller, Raabe und Fontane," in *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur: Neue Welt - Nordamerika - USA,* ed. Sigrid Bauschinger, Horst Denkler und Wilfried Malsch (Stuttgart: Reclam jun., 1975), pp. 178-204; Horst Denkler, "Die Schule des Kapitalismus: Reinhold Solgers deutsch-amerikanisches Seitenstück zu Gustav Freytags *Soll und Haben,*" *ibid.*, pp. 108-23. See also F.E. Coenen, "W. Raabe's Treatment of the Emigrant," *Studies in Philology,* 34(1937), 612 seq.

[3]See list in Marion Dexter Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Founder of Germantown* (Philadelphia: Campbell, 1908), pp. 124-26, and see chapt. 7, *ibid.*, pp. 225-74. As for promotional literature, see *Copia, eines von einem Sohn an seine Eltern auss America, abgelassenen Brieffes/ sub dato Philadelphia, den 7. Martii 1684, Sichere Nachricht auss America wegen der Landschafft Pennsylvania/von einem dorthin gereissten Teutschen/*de dato Philadelphia, den 7. Martii 1684; as for reprints in the monthly journal Tentzel's *Monatliche Unterredungen einiger guten Freunde von allerhand Büchern und andern annemlichen Geschichten* (1689-1706) see Learned, *Life of Pastorius,* p. 62. *Kurtze Geographische Beschreibung der letztmahls erfundenen Americanischen Landschafft PENSYLVANIA,* appended to Melchior Adam Pastorius, *Kurtze Beschreibung des H.R. Reichs Stadt Windsheim* (Nürnberg: Christian Sigmund Froberg, 1692); *Umständige Geographische Beschreibung Der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz PENSYLVANIAE. . . .Worbey angehencket sind einige notable Begebenheiten und Bericht-Schreiben an dessen Herrn Vattern. . .und andere gute Freunde* (Frankfurt/Leipzig: Andreas Otto, 1700); 1704, 2nd ed. A modern translation of the 1st edition is available as "Circumstantial Geographical Description of Pennsylvania, by Francis Daniel Pastorius, 1700" in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630-1707,* ed. Albert Cook Myers, Original Narratives of Early American History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), pp. 360-448. A reprint of the German edition of 1700 was published in Krefeld in 1884.

[4]For regional differences see *Sichere Nachricht,* pp. 6-7, photographic reprod. in Learned, *Life of Pastorius,* between pp. 128 and 129. Pastorius speaks of "Niederteutsche" on p. 2, of "hochdeutsch", "lauter Teutsche" and "die Holländer" on pp. 6-7. Concerning sectarian controversies see Pastorius' *Four Boasting Disputers* (New York: William Bradford, 1697). See also the commemorative poem on Thomas Lloyd sent to Rachel Preston et al., rpt. Learned, *Life of Pastorius,* esp. p. 203 and n.11.

[5]In Harrison T. Meserole, ed., *Seventeenth-Century American Poetry* (New York: Norton, 1972), p. 301.

[6]*Ibid.*, p. 302.

[7]*Ibid.*, p. 303.

[8]*Ibid.*, p. 302.

[9]Pastorius, *Copia. . . .eines Brieffes,* rpt. in Armin B. Brandt, *Bau deinen Altar auf fremder Erde. Die Deutschen in Amerika — 300 Jahre Germantown* (Stuttgart: Seewald, 1983), p. 95 (my translation).

[10]In Meserole, *Seventeenth-Century American Poetry,* p. 294.

[11]In Learned, *Life of Pastorius,* pp. 196, 197; (also spelled "Telner").

[12]*Ibid.,* pp. 158, 200.

[13]In a commemorative poem on Thomas Lloyd sent to his daughters in 1715, printed in Learned, *Life of Pastorius,* p. 202.

[14]Francis Daniel Pastorius, his Hive,. . .Begun Anno Domini. . . 1696, photostat of manuscript in the Harris Collection, Brown University, Providence, R.I., (no.)69.

[15]As for the mystics, see Pastorius' poem "Die Fehler meiner Brüder" printed in Faust, *The German Element,* 1909 ed., vol. 1, pp. 48-49, n.2. As regards Sproegel (Sprögel, Sprogell), see Pastorius' "Exemplum sine Exemplo" in Learned, *Life of Pastorius,* pp. 294-97.

[16]*Sichere Nachricht,* p. 2, rpt. in Learned, *Life of Pastorius,* between pp. 128-29, and *Beschreibung,* cited *ibid.,* p. 219.

[17]See note 4, and Pastorius, *Beschreibung,* cited in Learned, *Life of Pastorius,* p. 218, n.45.

[18]Pastorius, poems on Thomas Lloyd & William Penn, and epistles to Griffith Owen in Learned, *Life of Pastorius,* esp. pp. 200, 215, 215-17.

[19]*Sichere Nachricht,* p. 4, rpt. *ibid.,* between pp. 128-29; *Beschreibung,* transl. in Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* pp. 383-85. As for the letter to Georg Leonhard Model(ius), see Learned, *Life of Pastorius,* p. 195. As to the Indians in *Beschreibung,* transl. in Myers, see also pp. 433-35 (Letter to Model) and pp. 437-38 (Letter to Pastorius' father.)

[20]It makes use of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Dutch, French, English and German; Franconian and Low German of the Lower Rhine valley area represent dialectal interference.

[21]Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit,* in *Sämtliche Werke* (Artemis Verlag-Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag Zürich/München, 1948, 1977), vol. 10, pp. 50, 561. As for Susanne Katharina von Klettenberg, see *ibid.,* esp. pp. 372-75.

[22]Walter Wadepuhl, *Goethe's Interest in the New World* (Jena, 1934); Ernst Beutler, "Von der Ilm zum Susquehanna: Goethe und Amerika in ihren Wechselbeziehungen" in his *Essays um Goethe* (Bremen, 1957), pp. 580-629. Cf. earlier printings in *Goethe-Kalender auf das Jahr 1935,* pp. 86-153, and in his *Essays um Goethe* (Wiesbaden, 1946), pp. 462-520; Johannes Urzidil, "Goethes Amerika und Amerikas Goethe," *Amerikanische Rundschau,* no. 20 (1948), pp. 69-81; Karl E. Wipf, Elpis: *Betrachtungen zum Begriff der Hoffnung in Goethes Spätwerk* (Bern/München: Francke, 1974); and Victor Lange, "Goethes Amerikabild: Wirklichkeit und Vision," in *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur,* ed. Bauschinger, pp. 63-74.

[23]*Dichtung und Wahrheit* in *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 10, pp. 829-30, "Stella", *ibid.,* vol. 4, pp. 886, 890, "Der Gross-Cophta", *ibid.,* vol. 6, p. 609.

[24]*Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, ibid.,* vol. 7, p. 282.

[25]*Ibid.,* p. 464.

[26]*Ibid.,* pp. 567-68.

[27]*Kurtze Beschreibung* (1692), Engl. transl., in Learned, *Life of Pastorius,* p. 104.

[28]*Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* in *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 7, p. 604-05.

[29]*Ibid.,* vol. 8, pp. 888-92 ("Einführung").

[30]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 92. As for the term 'Province of Pedagogy' see p. 265. Concerning the 'returnee' see Alfred Vagts, *Deutsch-Amerikanische Rückwanderung: Probleme-Phänomene-Statistik-Politik-Soziologie-Biographie,* Beihefte zum *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien,* no. 6 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1960).

[31]*Wanderjahre, Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 8, p. 91.

[32]*Ibid.*, p. 91-92.

[33]*Ibid.*, p. 92.

[34]Pastorius, *Sichere Nachricht,* p. 4, rpt. in Learned, *Life of Pastorius,* between pp. 128 and 129.

[35]Cf. Gerhard Küntzel's debatable interpretation of this figure in his "Einleitung", vol. 8 of *Sämtliche Werke,* pp. 950-52.

[36]*Ibid.*, pp. 334-43.

[37]U.S. Bureau of Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C., 1960), pp. 56-57. Cf. (years) 1827: 432; 1828: 1.851; 1829: 597; 1830: 1.976; 1831: 2.413; 1832: 10.194.

[38]Goethe anticipates its best-known realization, the "Mainzer Adelsverein." See Rudolph Leopold Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas 1831-1861* (Austin, Tex., 1930; 1964, 2nd printing),p. 196.

[39]*Wanderjahre, Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 8, pp. 412, 421-22, 425, 433, 438-43, 486. See Dietrich Gerhard, "The Frontier in Comparative View," *Proceedings of the Second Conference of the European Association for American Studies held at the Fondation des Etats-Unis,* Paris, September 3-6, 1957, ed. Dietrich Gerhard, pp. 74-82, esp. 80-82. On p. 82 Gerhard refers to a "longer version" of his article to be published in the quarterly *Comparative Studies in Society and History.*

[40]As for the "Möbelfabrik" as an example see *Wanderjahre, ibid.*, pp. 486-87; see also pp. 343, 412.

[41]*Ibid.*, pp. 262-63, and, with an undertone of mild mockery, pp. 473-74 (e.g. "ein ganzes Volk von Hausfrauen"). See also pp. 412-20, 433-37.

[42]"Ludwig Galls Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten Trier 1822" in "Stoff und Gehalt zur Bearbeitung vorgeschlagen," *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 14, pp. 380-81. See p. 1071.

[43]"TYXE, das Zufällige", *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 618: ". . .europäische Nationen, in andere Weltteile versetzt, legen ihren Charakter nicht ab, und nach mehreren hundert Jahren wird in Nordamerika der Engländer, der Franzose, der Deutsche gar wohl zu erkennen sein; zugleich aber auch werden sich bei Durchkreuzungen die Wirkungen der Tüche bemerklich machen, wie der Mestize an einer klärern Hautfarbe zu erkennen ist."

[44]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, pp. 342, 420; 443.

[45]*The Selected Letters of William Carlos Williams* (New York, 1957), p. 176.

[46]*The Autobiography of William Carlos Williams* (New York, 1951), p. 86.

[47]*Life Along the Passaic River* (Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1938), in *The Farmers' Daughters: The Collected Stories of William Carlos Williams (ibid.,* 1961), p. 159.

[48]*Autobiography,* p. 154, but see also *The Build-Up* (New York: Random House, 1952), p. 22.

[49]*The Build-Up,* pp. 324-25, 329-33.

[50]"The Rare Gist," *The Collected Later Poems of William Carlos Williams* (Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1963), p. 253.

[51]*In the Money* (New York: MacGibbon & Kee, 1966), pp. 152-53.

[52]*The Build-Up,* p. 22.

[53]*Paterson* (Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1963), ND Paperbook no. 153, Book II (1948), Section II, pp. 78-94, esp. pp. 80-90.

[54]*Ibid.,* p. 85. As for Pastorius cf. note 13.

[55]*The Build-Up,* p. 67.

[56]*Ibid.,*

[57]For further information on Williams from the angle of American-German literary interrelations see Hans Galinsky, "An American Doctor-Poet's Image of Germany: An Approach to the Work of William Carlos Williams," *Studium Generale,* 21 (1968), 74-93; *Wegbereiter moderner amerikanischer Lyrik: Interpretations-und Rezeptionsstudien zu Emily Dickinson und William Carlos Williams* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1968); *Amerikanisch-deutsche Sprach- und Literaturbeziehungen: Systematische Übersicht und Forschungsbericht 1945-1970* (Frankfurt(Main): Athenäum, 1972), Index, *sub* Williams, W.C., p. 253.

[58]See note 42.

The German Language Press in Minnesota

by Gerhard H. Weiss

The history of the German language press in the United States is closely intertwined with the history of German immigration. With the arrival of the first group of German settlers in Philadelphia in 1683, a bridgehead was established which rapidly expanded in the following years. Germantown and the Philadelphia area formed the first center of German life on the new continent. It was here, also, that the first German-American paper was printed in 1732. Published by Benjamin Franklin, the *Philadelphische Zeitung* was anything but a success.[1] In the 19th century, when German immigration to the United States reached its peak, the number of papers also multiplied rapidly and spread to the new population centers in the Middle West and beyond. The greatest impetus, of course, came with the arrival of the first major group of political refugees, the 1848ers. These young, highly educated liberals had fought in vain for political freedom and the freedom of the press in their native land, and they had developed a keen sense for the importance of the newspaper as a means of informing and educating a free citizenry. The constantly increasing number of German settlers in America, and the sizeable number of qualified journalists eager for a forum, created a veritable golden age for the German language press in the United States, far surpassing - in quality and quantity - what was then customary in the homeland.[2] After 1890, however, with the older generation of immigrants assimilated and the number of new arrivals decreasing, the press also began to decline. America's entrance into World War I added an additional blow from which the papers never recovered. Of the multitude of German language papers in the country, today only two survive which have more than local reputations: the New York *Staatszeitung und Herold* and the *Aufbau*, a refugee journal dating back to the 1930s.

The foreign language press in America is primarily a phenomenon of 19th century mass immigration. As such, it gives us one of the most fascinating and colorful insights into a very important chapter of United States history. It played a major role in the struggle between ethnic consciousness and gradual assimilation. Hermann Raster, one of the most distinguished German journalists of the 19th century, whose *Illinois Staatszeitung* was widely read, considered the German language press a major force in the shaping of a uniquely German-American culture.[3] To Carl Schurz the purpose of the German press was to serve as a vehicle "to explain America to those who could not yet read English; to keep the German element informed of the intellectual progress of Germany; and to promote understanding and cooperation among the Germans in the United States." Schurz also insisted that the German papers should teach the immigrants "how hospitable and unprejudiced the United States has been toward the foreign-born and how it has welcomed the stranger with 'open handed generosity'."[4]

What we have said about the German press in the United States in general applies, of course, to Minnesota also, in a peculiarly Minnesotan way. The German papers in Minnesota never reached the level of excellence and national reputation, or the volume of circulation, of their colleagues in New York, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, or Milwaukee. They had distinguished editors but lacked superstars. They were mainly liberal in outlook and not usually taken to radicalism. They were solid and respectable without winning a pennant. They reached their greatest prominence in 1895, about five years after the national peak, and at a time when — in many other states — the number of newspapers had already begun to decline. Between 1910 and 1920, partly because of World War I, the number of German publications in the United States was reduced by about 50%. In Wisconsin this number surpassed 40%; in Minnesota the loss was only about 22.2%![5]

There was nothing unique about the Minnesota German press. Some of the papers were church-connected, some addressed themselves to specific fraternal orders or lodges, some spoke to the farmers, and some were regular weekly or

Tägliche Volkszeitung.

4. St. Paul-Minneapolis, Minn., Mittwoch-Abend, den 25. Juli 1917.

MINNESO HISTORIC SOCIE

a bei cacz erreicht.

hischen Truppen besehen und Nadworna.

igriff südlich der d zum Stehen gebracht.

Zwischen der 7. und 11. Armee.

Der erste Stoß der Deutschen erfolgte bei Zborow.

Der Rückzug der Russen artet in kopflose Flucht aus.

Die Militärvorräte in Tarnopol werden verbrannt.

Aus. Press Telegramm an die Volkszeitg.

Petrograd, 25. Juli

Die gegenwärtige Linie an der Front im Südwesten korrespondiert jetzt ungefähr genau mit derjenigen, die von den Russen im letzten Jahre bei dem erfolgreichen Vordringen Brussilows eingenommen wurde. Eine Ausnahme bildet die Strecke bei Tarnopol, wo der Feind weiter in russisches Gebiet einzudringen vermochte. Das Schicksal dieser Stadt war besiegelt, als die Deutschen Beiz erreichten hatten von dem auf dem gegenüberliegenden Ufer des Sereth gelegenen Vorort, von wo aus die Stadt leicht von der Artillerie zu erreichen war.

Der Angriff der Deutschen erfolgte an dem Berührungspunkte der 7. und 11. Armee und [illegible]

Die Gegner des U-Bootkrieges.

Deutschland verliert Freunde durch Gebrauch dieser Waffe.

Das deutsche Volk ist voller Siegeszuversicht.

„Trocken Brot — macht die Wangen rot."

Kopenhagen, 25. Juli.

Der Berliner Korrespondent der „National Tidende" sendet einen Bericht nach hier, in dem er erklärt, daß je länger der Unterseebootkrieg andauert, je weniger Freunde Deutschland nach dem Kriege haben würde. Dieses und der Gedanke an die vielen Milliarden, die eine Fortführung des Krieges kosten, sei der Hauptgrund gewesen, daß im Reichstag sich eine Mehrheit gebildet habe, die einen sofortigen Frieden in Erwägung zieht. Der Korrespondent sagt, es werde allgemein zugegeben, daß der Erfolg der Unterseebootkampagne nicht richtig kalkuliert worden sei, nicht was die Anzahl der versenkten Schiffe anbetrifft, sondern die Zeit, die nötig sei, um seine Folgen in England fühlbar zu machen. Trotzdem sei das deutsche

Ausbreitung der Streikbewegung.

Auf verschiedenen Gebieten entstehen neue Streiks.

Gefährdung der Lieferung für die Regierung.

Präsident Wilson bereit mit Arbeitsführern Rücksprache.

Aus. Press Telegramm an die Volkszeitg.

Seattle, Wash., 25. Juli.

Die Lage im Streik der Holz- und Mühlenarbeiter in den nordwestlichen Holzgegenden ist unverändert und die Arbeit der Beschäftigung der für die Armee-Kantonnierungsstationen beim American-See in Washington und bei Des Moines, Ja., steht so gut wie gänzlich still. Holzhändler sollen eine Auflösung des Kontrakts durch die Bundesregierung erwarten.

San Francisco, 25. Juli.

Generalgeschäftsführer A. A. Porter von der Douglas Fir and Exploitation Co. erklärte, daß die Streiklage im Nordwesten schlimmer geworden ist. Er sagt, daß von den 57 Sägemühlen in den Nordweststaaten 26 der größeren durch von den Industrial Workers of the World ange-

Parteihader den Repr

Senatsvorschlag zur [illegible] wachungsausschusses d

Nahrungsmittelkont geht an der

Aus. Press Telegram

Im Repräsentantenhause waren gegen, als die Frage auftam, ob d allgemeiner Zustimmung dem Konfer überwiesen werden soll. Die heutige nahme, die gestern der republikanisch weigerte, die allgemeine Zustimmung Sonderabstimmung gestattet wurde Juliag, der die Schaffung eines gemein wachung der Kriegsausgaben vorsieht.

Der Präsident hat sich gegen da einen Mangel an Vertrauen in ihn d daß es im Laufe des Beginn der Krieg zwischen den beiden Hauptparteien fo zahl Demokraten bei der Abstimmung schlagen.

The masthead and headlines of the St. Paul-Minneapolis *Tägliche Volkszeitung* dated July 25, 1917 (Minnesota Historical Society)

daily newspapers. For a few years there even existed a German humor magazine, *Der lustige Bruder,* published between 1890 and 1907 in Minneapolis. In our discussion here we shall limit ourselves only to the secular, general subscription news press.

Early History

If the records are correct, the first German language newspaper in Minnesota was published on November 19, 1855, in St. Paul. *Die Minnesota Deutsche Zeitung* began as a four-page weekly, published by Friedrich Orthwein — one of the most colorful and enterprising of the German journalists. There is some argument that perhaps a Sunday paper, *Minnehaha,* preceded the *Deutsche Zeitung* by a few months, but that is purely academic.[6] Other papers followed, and during the approximately 100-year history of Minnesota German newspapers we can observe an amazing spectacle of optimistic starts and dismal failures, of mergers and of changes in political allegiances, of changing editors and publishers, and of a constant struggle for survival. Of a total of 51 secular German language papers known to have been published in Minnesota, nine did not even last as long as one year, and only seven continued over thirty. The average length of publication during this span of 100 years was 14.5 years. Only four papers ever reached a circulation figure of over 10,000 subscribers: the *Tägliche Volkszeitung* of St. Paul, St. Cloud's *Nordstern,* the *Minneapolis Freie Presse und Herold,* and the *Winona America Herold und Lincoln Freie Presse,* the last an amalgamation of papers originally published in Winona, Minneapolis, Milwaukee and Lincoln, Nebraska.[7]

Publishers and Editors: Friedrich Orthwein

The German papers were in the hands of capable publishers and editors. The most prominent of these were Friedrich Orthwein, Albert Wolff, Samuel Ludvigh, Ludwig Bogen, and Lambert Nägele. Orthwein, the "father" of the Minnesota German language press, had learned the printing trade in his native Germany before enlisting in the French Foreign Legion. He was a short fellow with a round face and chestnut brown hair, who — after his discharge from the Legion in 1849 — emigrated to the United States.

He worked for a while in the shop of the *Wisconsin Banner* in Milwaukee before coming to St. Paul in 1855 to found his own paper, the *Minnesota Deutsche Zeitung*. Though officially independent, the paper vascillated between Republican and Democratic politics. Its goal was to follow "such principles as would aid the German immigrant."[8] It received financial support from both political parties, an absolute necessity for survival in those days. However, it never became a "low slave" of any party or clique. When the *Zeitung* had to suspend publication because of a lawsuit brought by Orthwein's creditors, he moved to Chaska to start another paper, the *Minnesota Thalbote* (1859), which, six months later, was moved back to St. Paul and named the *Minnesota National Demokrat*. This paper had distinct Democratic leanings. However, party support was not enough to keep it afloat. According to Orthwein's rival, Samuel Ludvigh, who at that time edited the pro-Republican *Minnesota Staats-Zeitung*, "a party newspaper in Minnesota can endure only if supported with at least $600 annually from the party leaders."[9] In November 1859, the *National Demokrat* ceased publication. Orthwein left his journalistic career, but for several years continued to live in St. Paul, where he operated a saloon on Jackson Street. During his four years as a Minnesota journalist, he had been an outspoken liberal and a defender of immigrant interests. He ridiculed the Know-Nothing element in American politics, and he opposed the temperance crusaders. He also urged the German immigrants to give up their "old fashioned ways" and to become fully involved in American political life. Above all, he expressed the hope that the "hearts of all true Germans may beat with enthusiasm for the unity of the Union."[10]

Albert Wolff

Albert Wolff had been a student of theology at the University of Göttingen. In May 1849, he became involved in the revolutionary uprisings in Dresden, was sentenced to death, had his sentence commuted to ten years in prison, and was finally pardoned in 1852. He emigrated to the United States and made his home in St. Paul, where he became involved in several German newspaper enterprises. He worked with Orthwein on the *Deutsche Zeitung* and the *Thalbote;* he briefly edited the *New Ulm Post;* and for 16 years he served as editor of the St. Paul *Volkszeitung* — until he ended his life in 1893 in a moment of despondency, brought about apparently by financial problems.[11] Wolff served several terms in the Minnesota legislature, gaining a keen sense for state politics. He also distinguished himself in the post of Minnesota's State Commissioner of Emigration for Germany.[12]

Wolff's editorial position was basically independent. He considered himself "free of any party yoke or party pay."[13] In the 1860 St. Paul city election, he recommended both Democratic and Republican candidates, provided they were German! In the February 25 edition of the *Staatszeitung* he admonished his readers: "Show the Know-Nothings of both parties what the damned Dutchmen can do."[14] Wolff endorsed Lincoln and supported liberal Republican ideals up to the period of Reconstruction, when he began to move closer to the Democrats again. He was a very skillful writer, who also tried his hand at fiction and who loved to insert his witty doggerel verse in his paper.[15]

Samuel Ludvigh, Ludwig Bogen and Lambert Nägele

Samuel Ludvigh was by far the most radical and controversial of the German journalists. He was an avowed free-thinker, which frightened some of the more religious German immigrants.

Lambert Nägele enlisted in the First Minnesota Battery at New Ulm at the outbreak of the Civil War and was sent to Fort Snelling to be mustered in. He had been the editor and co-founder of the New Ulm *Pionier*, the journal of the Turners. Their printing plant was destroyed during the Sioux uprising. After the Civil War Nägele became the editor of the Minneapolis *Freie Presse*. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Neu-Ulm Pionier.

Jahrgang I. Neu-Ulm, W. T., Donnerstag, den 14. Januar, 1858. Nummer

Gemischtes.

Reise nach Frankfurt.

[Von A. F. Hess.]

In ehemaligen Reichsstädten bekannt war großen Reichs-Kammergericht in Wetzlar. Fast weltberühmte Rechtsgelehrte, Juristen und Advocaten waren dort von Deutschland versammelt. Wer darüber einen großen Prozeß verloren hatte, an den wandte er sich weiter und so traten, konnte ihn in Wetzlar noch einmal anhängig machen, und noch einmal verlieren. Manche deutsche, württembergische und bairische Papiere ist dort hingewandert, und hat den Herren nimmer gefallen.

Als aber im Jahre 1806 der große Schlag auf das deutsche Reich geschah, stürzte auch das Reichskammergericht zusammen, u. alle Prozesse, die dann kamen, wurden vertagt, abgesagt, annullirt, und seiner gab mehr ein Andern von sich, ausgenommen im Jahre 1817 in Gera in Südthüringen hat einer wieder gepaßt.

Einen Prozeß-Advocaten daselbst ließ in der Treviser Zeitung, daß der Bankier in Frankfurt sich mit dem Unterhalt der Kammergerichts-Beisitzer, Actuarien, Secretäre, Advocaten, Procuratoren, Notarien, Boten, Schreiber, Copisten, Thürsteher, Laufer, Kanzlisten, Pedellen, Executoren, Gerichtsdiener, Gerichtsknechte, Gerichtsmägde, Gerichtsbuben, Gerichtsschweine, Gerichtsgänse, Gerichtsenten, Gerichtshühner, Gerichtshähne, Gerichtshunde, Gerichtskatzen, Gerichtsmäuse, Gerichtsratten, Gerichtsflöhe, Gerichtswanzen, Gerichtsläuse, Gerichtsfliegen, Gerichtsmücken, Gerichtsbremsen, Gerichtsbienen, Gerichtswespen, Gerichtshornissen, Gerichtsschmetterlinge, Gerichtsraupen, Gerichtsmotten, Gerichtsspinnen, Gerichtsskorpionen, Gerichtsschlangen, Gerichtseidechsen, Gerichtsfrösche, Gerichtskröten, Gerichtsmolche, Gerichtsmolche, Gerichtsmolche

Ludvigh had left Germany before the revolution of 1848 and had established a quarterly literary magazine, *Die Fackel,* first published in New York and subsequently in Baltimore. During his stay in Minnesota, this journal was issued from St. Paul. Ludvigh was the founder of the *Minnesota Staatszeitung* (1858), telling his readers that "he was a materialist of the extreme left, one who was simultaneously very loved and very hated by everyone."[16]

Ludwig Bogen, a "48er" and former member of the Frankfurt parliament, was for many years the distinguished editor of the very liberal *New Ulm Post,* where he succeeded Albert Wolff. He was a strong supporter of the early German-American labor movement, and his paper expressed great sympathy with the Knights of Labor or, as the *Post* called them, "die Ritter der Arbeit."[17]

Lambert Nägele had both journalistic and entrepreneurial interests. He was the co-founder of the New Ulm *Pionier,* the journal of the German Turner settlement, which claimed to be "independent in everything, neutral in nothing."[18] It carried the motto "Freier Boden, Freie Menschen, Freie Arbeit, Freie Presse!" and hoped to advocate radical progress as well as disseminate knowledge regarding conditions in Minnesota.[19] Nägele's publishing plant was destroyed during the Sioux Uprising, while he and his associates were serving in the Union army. In 1869, he became publisher and editor of the *Minneapolis Freie Presse* and continued to pursue a liberal Republican course. He sold his paper in October of 1889 and assumed management of the Montana *Staatszeitung* in Helena.[20]

The Newspapers: What Were They Like?

We have so far introduced the leading German journalists and have cited some of the major papers in Minnesota connected with their names. What were these Minnesota German papers like, what issues did they address, to what extent were they German, to what extent American? While there were obvious differences in individual approaches and differing views in politics and

The humor section of the *Tägliche Volkszeitung* of St. Paul-Minneapolis. (Minnesota Historical Society)

55 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Für unsere Frauen

Sei Mensch!

Jedem.

Die Hand in der Tasche.

Für die Küche.

The *Volkszeitung* had a Women's Page in its Sunday edition. (Minnesota Historical Society)

religious matters, the papers nevertheless had much in common. On the surface they looked much like 19th century provincial gazettes in Germany and actually differed little from the English language papers in the state. The German papers did not use the big headlines customary in 20th century American papers; they were customarily set in Gothic type and must have appeared comfortable to the recent immigrant.

They were filled with reports from the Old Country as well as from the new. Editorials usually discussed Minnesota or American issues. Only rarely - such as during the Franco-Prussian and during the First World War - were European or German matters at the center of editorial concern. Even then the editors took a German-American position rather than a purely German one. The papers had a distinct American focus, and one can sense the great pride of the immigrants, who had come to identify fully with their new homeland and who were striving to be accepted by their new countrymen — accepted, that is, as equals, and not as second rate citizens. There is a great love for America, but not necessarily a similar affection for the Yankee neighbor.

There is a constant concern that German culture be accepted as equal to the Anglo-Saxon. This is exemplified by the eloquent arguments in almost all German papers against the temperance movement ("Our Anglo-Saxon fellow citizens of the Temperance Order"[21]), against the threat of Prohibition, and against the restrictions of the Sunday Laws. The Germans viewed this as a direct attack against their way of life. The assassination of the Archduke of Austria in 1914 and the threat of war in Europe, for example, had no greater front-page coverage than a report from Washington on the same day alerting the readers that Prohibition had become a distinct possibility.[22]

On February 4, 1864, the *New Ulm Post* sharply criticized the city fathers of St. Paul, who — because of the Sunday laws — had failed to welcome the returning heroes of the 2nd Minnesota Regiment with appropriate ceremony, "out of fear of violating the Sabbath." In 1914, the same paper complained that there were super moralists at work trying to establish a "moral aristocracy" in this country, which would legislate "proper" behavior by demanding a strict observance of the Sunday and by restricting dancing, theatre, and even the movies.[23]

Other issues of concern were those of immigrant rights, citizenship, and the passing of the Homestead Legislation. Anything restricting immigration or making land less easily available was considered a serious threat to the immigrants. Anything (and any party) following a nativist or Know-Nothing ideology was vigorously opposed. This included also the fight against all forms of literacy tests which were to be used to restrict the admission of aliens to this country. The railroads

New-Ulm Post.

New-Ulm, Freitag, 5. Februar 1864.

Unsere Aufgabe.

„Es werde Licht!"
Genesis.

Wie der Sumpf, aus dem das Miasmas empor wabert, Erzeuger und Ernährer desjenigen ist, so ist der Einzelne von Politikern, der Einzelnen, oder in [illegible] Erzeuger und Ernährer [illegible] von Blättern, die jetzt erscheinen. Wie das Miasma, wenn die Sonnenstrahlen oder [illegible] Windhauch den Sumpf angetrocknet [illegible] verdorrt und elend abstirbt, so verdorren und [illegible] ab, kümmerlich und elend, Du, [illegible] Parteiblättern, wenn der Sonnenstrahl [illegible] der Wahrheit und Klarheit erwärmt, in [illegible] der nicht mehr braucht, oder ausgetrocknet [illegible] von der Sonne der Einsicht des Volkes, von der [illegible] Kraft des Volkswillens.

Wenn die „New Ulm Post", heute zuerst das [illegible] Licht [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Deutsche von Minneapolis unterstützt Eure deutschen Zeitungen.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Minneapolis Freie Presse-Herold

Jahrgang. Minneapolis, Minn., Freitag, den 6. April 1917. Nummer

Der Kriegszustand

ier Botschaft an den Kongreß legte der Präsident dem Kongreß tige Erklärung des Kriegszustandes nahe.—Amerika konnte den der Unterwerfung nicht wählen.—Die Ver. Staaten sollten die erten bis zu Ende des Krieges unterstützen.— Kein Streit mi deutschen Volk, sondern mit dessen Regierung. —Behörden werden oyalität mit fester Hand unterdrücken.

Die Kriegsresolution.

Eine Offensive im Osten

Deutsche Truppen überschreiten den Stochod, erobern den B von Toboly und erobern zwei Munitionslager.—Die Russe schwere Verluste.—Britische und französische Aufklärungsfl bei Arras müssen mit blutigen Köpfen abziehen.—Rahe Nomen 300 britische Gefangene ins Feuer ihrer eigenen L fallen bis auf 60.—Die Franzosen vor St. Quentin.

Tätigkeit der Tauchboote.

Vom westlichen Kriegsschauplatze.

Vom östlichen Schauplatze

The Minneapolis *Freie Presse-Herold* issue of April 6, 1917 announced the U.S. declaration of war against Germany. (Minnesota Historical Society)

were seen both as friends (they opened up new territories), and as enemies (they had assumed too much political power and their use of the free right-of-way stood in competition with the farmer's use of the land.)[24]

On the basic issues facing the United States, the Minnesota Germans were strong supporters of the Union and often ardent Abolitionists. While many supported Lincoln, some of the most vocal journalists would have preferred Seward or Fremont, whom they considered more outspoken on the issue of slavery. After the war, German papers endorsed a gradual transition, believing that the liberated slaves should be educated to take their rightful place as full citizens of this country. Their position toward the American Indian, on the other hand, was more ambiguous. The Sioux Uprising had been a great shock to the German settlers who, especially in New Ulm, had to face the brunt of the attack. The old ideals of the "Noble Savage," so prevalent in 18th and 19th century Germany, had been replaced by the image of the beast terrorizing innocent women and children. Even as liberal a paper as the *New Ulm Post* gloated with righteous glee over reports that the Sioux imprisoned in Iowa were dying of disease; this was considered a good way to take care of the beasts for whom the gallows were too good.[25] Chieftains like Little Six or Sitting Bull were consistently ridiculed.[26] In later years this hatred was tempered somewhat and one can find more rational discussions of how the Indians could become an agricultural, self-sufficient people.[27]

The First World War

The First World War came as a deep shock to the German Americans. Before America's entry, the papers encouraged American neutrality, countered Allied propaganda, and often published part of their news in English so that the Germans could share it with their American neighbors. The Minnesota papers were pro-German out of a feeling of ethnic affinity, not because of any influence from the German government. They always remained loyal Americans. They opposed the sale of food and war materials to the Allies; they cited excuses for the German submarine warfare; they denied the stories of German atrocities; and they brought news from the German side of the front. However, they never suggested that the Unites States should join forces with the German Empire. Once war was declared, the German press — though stunned by the events — faithfully supported the American cause. The editorial in the *New Ulm Post* may serve as an example: "The dice are cast. . .We have made use of the right of the American citizen to criticize the actions of the government as long as there was room for a difference of opinion. Today such difference of

opinion is no longer thinkable, today the American people stand united to defend the rights and honor of our country. . .To be sure, it may be painful for all of us that an irreparable break has occurred with the old homeland. But now emotions no longer speak, now duty calls, and as faithful citizens of this country we want to fulfill our duty to the utmost and with sincerity."[28]

Links with the Old Country

Almost all German papers had columns or whole pages reserved for news from the Old Country. Sometimes these were political items such as extensive reports on anti-Semitic riots in Berlin in December 1880[29], but usually they were typical brief news items reporting catastrophes, murders, accidents, normal and abnormal births and deaths. They were often simply taken from other German — American papers and on occasion from publications in Germany itself. Jokes were copied from the Berlin *Kladderadatsch* and other sources. News items were usually reprinted without commentary to keep the folks in touch with the country of their origin. Most papers also published poetry and serialized novels — many by German authors, a few by German-Americans. All were terribly sentimental and of little literary value. Titles like "Auf Sylt," "Die verlorene Tochter," "Der Lootsenkommandeur," "Auf einem verlorenen Posten," "Der Räuber im Vogelberg" speak for themselves.[30] They are written for an unsophisticated audience and are at the level of German "Dienstmädchenliteratur." It has been suggested that this nostalgic literature helped "cushion the shock of the transition by creating a semblance of the earlier social life with which the immigrant was familiar."[31] The *belle lettres* portion of the paper was sometimes reserved for a special "Sonntags-Blatt" edition, which often also contained a humor section, hints for the housewife, for good health, or advice to the farmer.

The German Language

The German language used in these newspapers remained, of course, the best link with the old country. By and large, the journalists wrote extremely well and certainly had a better command of educated standard German than most of their readers. But even the newspapermen

New Ulm Post.

New Ulm, Minnesota, Freitag den 9. Febr.. 1917.

Kritische Situation.

Diplomatische Beziehungen zwischen Washington und Berlin unterbrochen. — Verschärfte deutsche Tauchbootkriegführung die Ursache hiefür. — Britenfreunde in Washington jubilieren! — Deutsche Regierung und Presse ernst, aber maßvoll!—Deutsch-Amerikaner wie immer in kritischer Zeit den Ver. Staaten gegenüber! — Aber nicht alle Amerikaner billigen Präs. Wilson's rasche Handlungsweise.—Krieg zwischen Amerika und Deutschland unwahrscheinlich!—

War gewarnt.

Die „Housatonic" rechtmäßig versenkt.

Mannschaft gerettet.

Washington, 3. Febr. Mit großer Befriedigung wurde im Staatsdepartement die Nachricht aufgenommen, daß bei der Versenkung

Was vor einer Woche kaum jemand hier oder drüben geahnt hatte oder hätte glauben können, ist eingetreten: Die Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten hat die diplomatischen Beziehungen mit Deutschland wegen der verschärften deutschen Tauchbootkriegs-

dieser Erdschaft an eigenen Errungenschaften hinzugefügt haben, alles das, was deutsch ist, steht auf dem Spiele. Jeder, reich oder arm, hoch oder niedrig, gelehrt oder nicht gelehrt, muß für das kämpfen, was er sein eigen nennt. Wir müssen zusammenstehen, um den Feind

Nord-Dakota: „Die Vereinigten Staaten hatten auf ihre legalen Rechte bezüglich der Freiheit der Meere ohne Verlust an Würde oder Aufgabe von Rechten verzichten können. Ich glaube nicht, daß das amerikanische Volk Krieg will und ich stehe auf der Seite des Volkes."

Repräsentant Lindbergh von Minnesota sagt:

Der Präsident hat in dieser Lage logisch richtig gehandelt. Er konnte nichts anderes tun, als die diplomatischen Beziehungen mit Deutschland abbrechen. Ich kann aber der Auffassung nicht zustimmen, daß er den richtigen Kurs eingeschlagen hat. Er sollte sich geweigert haben, amerikanische Pässe auszuteilen, es sei denn auf das ganz bestimmte Versprechen hin, daß keine Schiffe von Kriegführenden zur Neutralisierung benutzt wurden.

Repräsentant Young von Nord Dakota äußerte sich wie folgt: „Niemand sagt, daß es zum Kriege kommen wurde. Ich habe den Präsidenten nicht so verstanden. Laßt uns ihm vertrauen, daß er uns davon vorbehalten hat."

Repräsentant Tilson von Süd Dakota bemerkte: „Die Lage ist ernster. Wir können mehr für unser Volk tun,

Drauf

Deutschland heit d

Dualai Sa

Berlin, 3. Feb Beginn der neue sandte Admir dant der deutsch gendes Telegram Anzeiger":

„Mein Losung Zukunft auf der der britische See knirschen, wie in angreifen, bis Meeren gewonne

Mach

Der S aat R tionali

Berden 2

New York, 3 ner Konferenz

The New Ulm *Post* dated February 9, 1917 notes a critical situation in U.S. - German relations. (Minnesota Historical Society)

59 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

sometimes fell victim to the power of the omnipresent English. In one edition of the *Volkszeitung,* we find an editorial complaint about the deterioration of the German language in Germany, where newspapers and the general public are accused of using "too many foreign words." Indeed, the writer claims that the German-American press uses much better German than the papers in the Reich.[32] Unfortunately, the good editor is given the lie only a few pages later when (in the same issue), we read "Angeregt durch die Milwaukeer Feuerkatastrophe introducirte Herr McLaughlin im Senat unserer Gesetzgebung eine Bill, die Hotelbesitzer zur Ausstattung ihres Etablissements mit Rettungsapparaten zu veranlassen." In another place we find: "Aber der Trubel ist, die Gelehrten sind sich nicht darüber einig. . ."[33] "Trubel" is a typical German-Americanism, confusing the German word (meaning "excitement" or "turmoil") with the English "trouble."

The deterioration of German among the immigrants was at times a source of special ridicule. The *New Ulm Post,* for example, offered an open letter each week, written by a Philipp Sauerampfer and addressed to the "Herr Redaktionär." This satirical column was written entirely in phonetic German-American speech. In addition, the German showed a distinct regional coloring, so that one can consider the Sauerampfer-language an interesting representation of the actual speech patterns prevailing in the New Ulm area. One example for many: "Wenn Sie jetzt denke, dass mer Pies in unser Haus gehabt hätte, bikahs das Gailche is widder da gewese, dann sin Se schief gewickelt. Befohr, dass ich aus den Bett gewesen sin, hen ich in die Jahrd e Feit gehört. . . .Ich hen grad ebbes sagen wolle,

"Carry on the Good Work" is the caption above this illustration in the Minneapolis *Freie Presse-Herold* in January, 1917. A charity drive was trying to raise $300,000 for the poor in Germany. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Sonntags-Blatt der

Volkszeitung.

1. Jahrgang. St. Paul, Minnesota, Sonntag, 7. October, 1877. No. 5.

Belletristisches.

Auf Sylt.

Novelle von D. v. Paschkowsky.

(Schluß.)

„Mein liebes, ungetreues Kind!"

„Mein theures Gonfuchen!"

Mit zärtlichen Vorwürfen, mit Exklamationen unaussprechlicher Freude begrüßten Frau Weber und ihr Sohnlieblingen die „Wiedergefundene". Helene war keine Menschenkennerin und fühlte sich von diesen herzlichen Umarmungen, dieser unverfennbaren Freude gerührt und beschämt zugleich.

Ihre Begrüßung klang bisher herzlicher und freier, als sie noch vor einer Minute für möglich gehalten hätte.

Aus dem Spaziergang im Mondschein wurde natürlich nichts. Edlef ging allein hin, trübgestimmt, voll banger Ahnungen.

Diese „zärtlichen Verwandten" waren eine Stunde zu früh gekommen. Er hatte gehofft, sich heute Abend das köstliche Recht zu erwerben, nach dem seine Seele verlangt, das Mädchen seiner Liebe vor der Rückkehr in's gewohnte Leben zu schützen, selbst vor diesen Menschen, die gekommen waren, sie ihm für immer zu entreißen. Jetzt galt's für Helene, zu zeigen, ob ihre Liebe diese Probe bestehen konnte. Als seine Braut — hätte er nicht daran gezweifelt; — aber jetzt? —

* * *

Wer ist der Ritter von der traurigen Gestalt, der da so einsam und gebückt einherschreitet, augenscheinlich demselben Ziele zu, wie wir? fragte einer der jungen Mitglieder in Civil, die wir schon auf jener stürmischen Ueberfahrt von Höger gesehen haben. Sie waren einige Zeit in Westerland gewesen, hatten Alles „scheußlich" gefunden, das Essen ungenießbar, die Logis für Halbwilde eingerichtet, die Insel granselig und kahl, das Meer unausstehlich langweilig.

Die jugendlichen Helden hatten also bei ihrer Expedition ihre Rechnung nicht gefunden. Sie waren dieses ewigen Wechsels von Ebbe und Fluth müde und sehnten sich nach kultivierteren comfortablen Logis. Sie waren nachhause gedampft, hatten dort etwas mehr Komfort gefunden und es wirklich vierzehn Tage ausgehalten. Sie hatten auf Amrum Enten gejagt, die Vogelkoje in Nieblum in Augenschein genommen, sogar eine Exkursion nach einer der Halligen mitgemacht und hätten nun fröhlich in ihre „hochkultivirte" Heimath wieder zurückkehren können, hätten sie sich nicht mit einigen später nachgekommenen Kameraden verabredet gehabt, auf Möwenjagd zu gehen, wozu Sylt ihnen doch geeigneter schien.

So kam es, daß die jungen Vaterlandsvertheidiger noch einmal auf dieser öden Insel schießen wurden, wirklich einigen jener niedlichen, harmlosen Vögel den Garaus zu machen, die den meisten Menschen zur Freude und Niemand zum Schaden diesen stillen Strand beleben. Auch sie hatten von dem verunglückten Schiff gehört und machten sich auf den Weg dahin, um doch alle Sehenswürdigkeiten in Augenschein zu nehmen. Von der Sylter chronique scandaleuse wußten sie natürlich nichts, auch nicht mehr, wer jener Ritter von der traurigen Gestalt war, womit sie Edlef meinten, der dem gleichen Ziele zuschritt, aber allein.

Einsames Gelichter beantwortete diese geistreiche Frage.

Am Ende der Geist des ertrunkenen Kapitäns, der im Mondschein sein verlorenes Schiff besucht.

Oder gar der Rheder selbst, der sich durch Autopsie von der Identität überzeugen will!

Ah pfui, Pobben das schmeckt noch zu sehr nach der Prima! Lassen Sie diese gelehrten Brocken und sehen sich lieber die kleine Gruppe an, die da auf und zukommt. Kommt schon daher, wie es scheint! Sind Damen dabei, sogar eine junge! Schade, daß wir nicht früher ausgingen!

Ja wohl, schade! Hätte sich im Mondschein leicht eine Bekanntschaft anspinnen können, ein kleines Techtelmechtel! Scheint ein netter Backfisch, auf Ehre!

Einige Ratenbreiter waren in Thätigkeit, einige feindkleidete Hände bemüht, die martialischen Schnurrbärte dikkolorirt zu drehen, in echt soldatischer Siegesgewißheit.

Die kleine Gruppe näherte sich den edlen Söhnen des Mars. Es waren in der That zwei Damen, eine ältere und eine junge. Ein Herr gleitete sie, stattlich, wenn gleich nicht mehr jung. In diesem Augenblick beugte er sich gerade zur Seite dem netten Backfisch zu, ihm etwas zu sagen, worüber dieser errötete. Den jungen Helden entging dies nicht.

Allerliebstes Ding das! meinte Einer, scheint mir bekannt, kann mich freilich nicht erinnern, wo gesehen! Der Olle ebenfalls—ach ja, richtig, jetzt hab' ich's! — Bei jener verfluchten Ueberfahrt von Höger, wo wir beinahe ertrunken wären!

Ertrunken wären? fragte ein Anderer.

Auf Ehre, ertrunken wie die Ratten! In meinem Leben vertraue ich mich solcher Nußschale nicht wieder an.

Wäre Schade gewesen um Ihr edles Leben, vom Reverenz.

Noch mehr Schade, an solcher erbärmlichen Küste zu versaufen!

Wer ist denn die Kleine? Machten Sie nicht Bekanntschaft mit ihr?

War mir nicht vorgestellt! Habe nichts mit solchen obskuren Schönheiten zu thun!

Schade doch, wäre ein netter Zeitvertreib gewesen!

Der nette Zeitvertreib war inzwischen näher gekommen, lächelnd, frisch und blühend wie eine Rose. Der Ernst, der einen Augenblick ihre reizenden Züge gefurcht hatte bei dem düstern Schauspiel, das sie gesehen, hatte schon wieder der neckischen Laune, dem harmlosen Frohsinn der Jugend Platz gemacht.

Die Mutter schüttelte den Kopf und meinte: „Ich möchte wissen, ob du nie ernster wirst, Fränzchen?"

Worauf der Freund erwiderte:

„Wenn Ihr Fräulein Tochter erst in unsern Jahren ist, werdete Frau Heller. Jetzt gehört ihre Heiterkeit zu ihr, wie der Duft zur Rose!"

Die Fledermäuse und Thau zur Nacht und Frösche und Nachtigallen zum Frühling, unterbrach das ausgelassene Mädchen den Freund.

Dieser bezogte sich lächelnd zu ihr und sagte:

Während die Mutter eifrig die nothwendigsten Sachen zusammenpackte, wartete das Mädchen auf ihn, ihm ein Wort des Trostes, wo möglich der Hoffnung zuzuflüstern. Unbekannt mit dem Vorgefallenen, glaubte sie, es könnte vorübergehende Eifersucht sein, die ihn quälte, sie könnte ihn bereden, hier zu bleiben, abzuwarten, Helenen erst selbst zu sprechen.

Im Hausflur trat sie ihm entgegen, scheu, verlegen, hochroth. Sich selbst hatte sie vergessen über dem Eifer, den Geliebten zu trösten. Vor dem finstern Blick seiner Augen sank sie die Worte nicht, die sie hatte sagen wollen. Sie stotterte und konnte nichts Zusammenhängendes hervorbringen.

Edlef blieb stehen, ihre Verwirrung fiel ihm auf.

Was willst du, Merret? fragte er, hast du etwas auf dem Herzen, so freich! Nach ist's Zeit.

Sie trat noch nicht fort, brachte sie mühsam heraus; sieh sie erst, sprich sie erst —

Merret, woher weißt du?

O, ich wußte es schon lange, lange —

Von wem? Rede, Mädchen!

Niemand hat es mir gesagt! Aber, Edlef ich weiß es!

Und nun stürzten die mühsam zurückgehaltenen Thränen unaufhaltsam hervor und das Mädchen legte die Hände vor das glühende Gesicht, aus Furcht, er könnte ihr Geheimniß ebenso durchschauen, wie sie seines. —

Edlef war kein Menschenkenner und kannte vor Allem das weibliche Herz nicht. Unter gewöhnlichen Umständen hätte er jahrelang mit Merret leben können, ohne auf den Gedanken zu kommen, daß seine Bande des Bluts sie vereinten. Aber in erregter Stimmung nimmt die Seele oft wunderbare Kräfte an; ihr Blick wird scharf, oft sogar hellsehend. Bei dem heftig hervorbrechenden Schmerz des Mädchens fiel es ihm plötzlich wie Schuppen von den Augen und er wußte jetzt mit derselben Gewißheit, wie sie ihn errathen, was der Kummer des lebensfrohen Mädchens zu bedeuten hatte.

Langsam zog er ihre Hände von den Augen herunter und sagte, sie mit innigem, brüderlichen Mitleid betrachtend.

Arme Merret! — Armes, armes Kind! und setzte dann, gewaltsam seinen eigenen Schmerz zurückdrängend hinzu:

Wir Beide wollen zu vergessen suchen! Hab' Dank für deine treue Anhänglichkeit, ich werde sie nicht vergessen! Jetzt laß mich gehen, ich muß fort! — Will's Gott, komme ich früher oder später geheilt von meinem Wahn wieder zu euch und laß uns hoffen, daß wir uns dann in froherer Stimmung wiedersehen!

* * *

Auch Helene hatte eine schlaflose Nacht zugebracht. Unruhig, getheilt in ihren Empfindungen, uneins mit sich selbst und ihren Entschlüssen, verwarf sie im nächsten Moment wieder, was sie eben noch gewollt hatte.

Mit gewohnter Ueberlegenheit sprach die Mutter die Nothwendigkeit aus, schon morgen ihr theures Kind in standesgemäßere Umgebung zu bringen. Helene vermochte nicht einmal dagegen Einwendungen zu machen.

Sie waren fortgegangen und Helene allein geblieben. Mit der Einsamkeit kehrten die süßen Erinnerungen der letzten Zeit wieder. Sie gedachte Edlef's Liebe, seiner oft bewunderten Verachtung aller äußern Schwierigkeiten.

Mag er mich diesen Banden entreißen, dachte sie, mag er sterben, mich zu erringen, ich bin zu schwach zum Widerstand.

Dieser Gedanke beruhigte sie endlich. Gegen Morgen schlief sie ein. Es war spät, als ein Pochen an ihrer Thür sie weckte.

Frau Weber rief der geliebten Langschläferin ihren Morgengruß in's Zimmer. Ohne Weiteres hatte sie Edlef's Mutter angezeigt, daß Helene noch heut ein anderes Logis beziehen würde. Sie hatte bereits eine größere, besser eingerichtete Wohnung für sie gemiethet.

Die gute Frau fühlte sich gekränkt durch diesen so plötzlichen Abzug. Etwas gereizt sagte sie:

„Aber das Fräulein war doch zufrieden bei uns und sagte noch gestern, sie würde hier bleiben."

Das begreife ich! Fräulein Helene ist ein Engel an Güte und Schonung. Sie wollte Ihnen nicht wehthun und blieb deshalb hier. Ich aber fühle mich verpflichtet, für sie zu sorgen.

Der Weg zum Strand ist zu weit für sie. Sie werden das selbst einsehen, gute Frau!"

Helenens Weigerung, diese ihr so theuer gewordenen Räume zu verlassen, hielt nicht Stand vor der Besorgniß der ängstlichen Freundin. Da sie ohnehin nicht den wahren Grund sagen konnte, so ersannen sich alle Einwürfe bald als nichtig.

Edgar stellte sich später auch ein, das junge Mädchen zu ihrer neuen Wohnung zu führen, während seine Mutter die Mühe des Einpackens übernahm. Helenen blieb nur übrig, Abschied zu nehmen.

Auch hierin unterstützte Frau Weber sie mit mütterlicher Sorgfalt. Edlef war nicht zu sehen. Eine Frage nach ihm schwebte auf Helenens Lippen, sie sprach sie aber nichts aus.

„Ich sehe ihn schon am Strande", tröstete sie sich und sein Name wurde von beiden Seiten nicht genannt.

Mit hochklopfendem Herzen lehnte dieser an der niederen Thür, welche in den Garten hinausführte. Ohne bemerkt zu werden, konnte er jedes Wort hören. Das Herz ist ein eigenthümliches, schwer zu regierendes Ding. Trotzdem er glaubte, Herr seiner Leidenschaft zu sein, klammerten sich seine kaum betäubten Wünsche an den einen, letzten: sie möchte ihm doch wenigstens einen Gruß, einen Dank, eine Bitte hinterlassen.

Aber nichts von Alledem. Heftig preßte er die Lippen aufeinander, seine Hände ballten sich krampfhaft.

„Nicht einmal das!" wußte es schmerzlich in seinem Herzen, „o, das ist hart!"

Und eine Thräne trat in die Augen des strengen Mannes, der seit seiner Kindheit diesen linden Thau nicht mehr gekannt!

Noch an demselben Tage wanderte ein einsamer Mann zum Landungsplatz von Rösse. Es war Edlef, der über Föhr und Husum nach Hamburg ging und von da wieder hinaus in die weite, weite Welt. Auf wie lange? Bis er allen Schmerz und alle Bitterkeit überwunden hatte und die Erinnerung an die Insel seiner Heimath ihm wieder lieb geworden war, welche jetzt, in dichte Nebel gehüllt, vor seinen trüben Augen versank.

* * *

Ich kann mir nichts Köstlicheres denken, als so ein frisches Lachen, das von Herzen kommt! Könnte ich es doch Zeit meines Lebens hören, liebes Fränzchen!

The Sunday, October 7, 1877 St. Paul *Volkszeitung* carried the final installment of a novella by D. von Paschkowsky entitled "Auf Sylt". (Minnesota Historical Society)

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„Sie,— Hören Sie mal!"

„Was Zuverlässigkeit - anbetrifft, habe ich noch nichts gesehen, was sich mit dem Tri-State Automatischen Telephon vergleichen kann."

„Bedenkt, daß man ebenso schnell St. Paul aufrufen kann, als man in Minneapolis über die Straße nach dem Heim oder nach der Office sprechen kann."

„Durch Ersparniß der Zeit erspare ich jeden Tag Dollars für mein Geschäft. Ich habe meine Angestellten instruiert, daß Automatische Telephon **ausschließlich** zu gebrauchen.

„Meine „Zwischen den Städten" Aufrufe werden jetzt in **Secunden** anstatt Minuten vollbracht. Morgen werde ich das Automatische Telephon in mein Heim einführen. Passen Sie auf.

„Es ist einfach wundervoll—Versuchen Sie es selber."

Für $2.00 per Monat.

Sie können ein Automatisches Telephon in Ihrem Hause einführen mit einer 2 Partei-Bedienung. Automatische Bedienung ist grade so gut und besser als die private Bedienung der altmodischen Linien.

Central-Dept. 31621

TRI-STATE TELEPHONE CO.

(Wächst automatisch.)

LOCAL LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE

An advertisement of the Tri-State Telephone Company in an 1917 issue of the Minneapolis *Freie Presse-Herold* describes the advantages of the automatic telephone which can be installed for $2 per month. The ad's message reads:

"As far as reliability is concerned, I have not seen anything that surpasses the Tri-State Automatic Telephone." "Just think, you can call St. Paul just as quickly as across the street in Minneapolis, or your home or office."

"By saving time, I save dollars every day for my business. I have instructed my employees to use the automatic telephone exclusively. My "Inter City" calls now take seconds instead of minutes. Tomorrow I am going to introduce the Automatic Telephone into my home. Just watch it!

"It is simply wonderful - try it yourself!

"For $2.00 per month.
You can install an Automatic Telephone in your home with two party service. Automatic service is just as good or better than the private service of the old fashioned lines."

(Minnesota Historical Society)

Minneapolis Freie Presse-Herold, Freitag, den 29. Januar 1897.

Kochler & Hinrichs

Ein guter Geschäftsmann.

Herman H. Bodal.

The Mikado...

Ein Tag in Japan.

Erfrischungs-Local

in Minneapolis.

229 NICOLLET AVE.

Jos. Schlitz Brewing Co. Atlas Bräu

Der Washington Hallerrink verbrannt.

KNOBLAUCH'S ARCADE,

230 Nicollet und 23 25 Washington Avenue South.

Schuhen und ... Stiefeln

aller Art für Herren, Damen und Kinder.....

Pianos

Orgeln

Neue 8300 aufrechtstehende Pianos, von anerkannt guter Arbeit für 8200, zahlbar mit 2? Cents per Tag.

Neue 890 Orgeln für 860, zahlbar mit 10c per Tag.

C. A. Elmendorf, Geschäftsführer.

100,000 Pfund Fleischwaaren

THE PROVISION CO. 9 und 11 2nd Av. Str.

Pork Roasts
Pork Steaks
Beste hiergemachte Wurst
Gute Stücke Rind und Hammelfleisch

5c

5,000 Pfund „Sugar Cured" Schinken, beste 9 und 10c
3,000 Pfund „Sugar Cured" Speck 7c.
2,000 Pfund Schinken, California Brand 6c.

Keller Butter Dept.

W. G. Stafford,

Photographer.

WEST-MINNEAPOLIS TURN-HALLE

Samstag, den 30. Januar.

Pferde Auction!

Midway Pferde-Markt.

Advertisements and news stories in the January 29, 1897 issue of the Minneapolis *Freie Presse-Herold*.

da hörn ich autseit e schrekliches Gehaller un e grosse Kommohschen. Ich sin an das Bäck-Window gelaufe. . . ."[34]

Advertising

Like newspapers everywhere, the German language press depended heavily on advertising. Indeed, the availability of advertising dollars often meant the difference between the life and death of a paper. Many of the small circulation journals found it difficult to compete with the bigger ones, and all of them had to struggle against their mighty American competitors. The advertising we do find in the German papers represents an interesting mixture. Some of it caters to specific immigrant interests and needs, and much represents the normal American advertising of the time. In the early days the German language is dominant; later it is often badly butchered, mixed with English — a sign that the customers are being integrated.

Among the most frequent advertisers are the local saloons and restaurants, such as the "Berliner Halle" on 3rd Street in St. Paul, or

63

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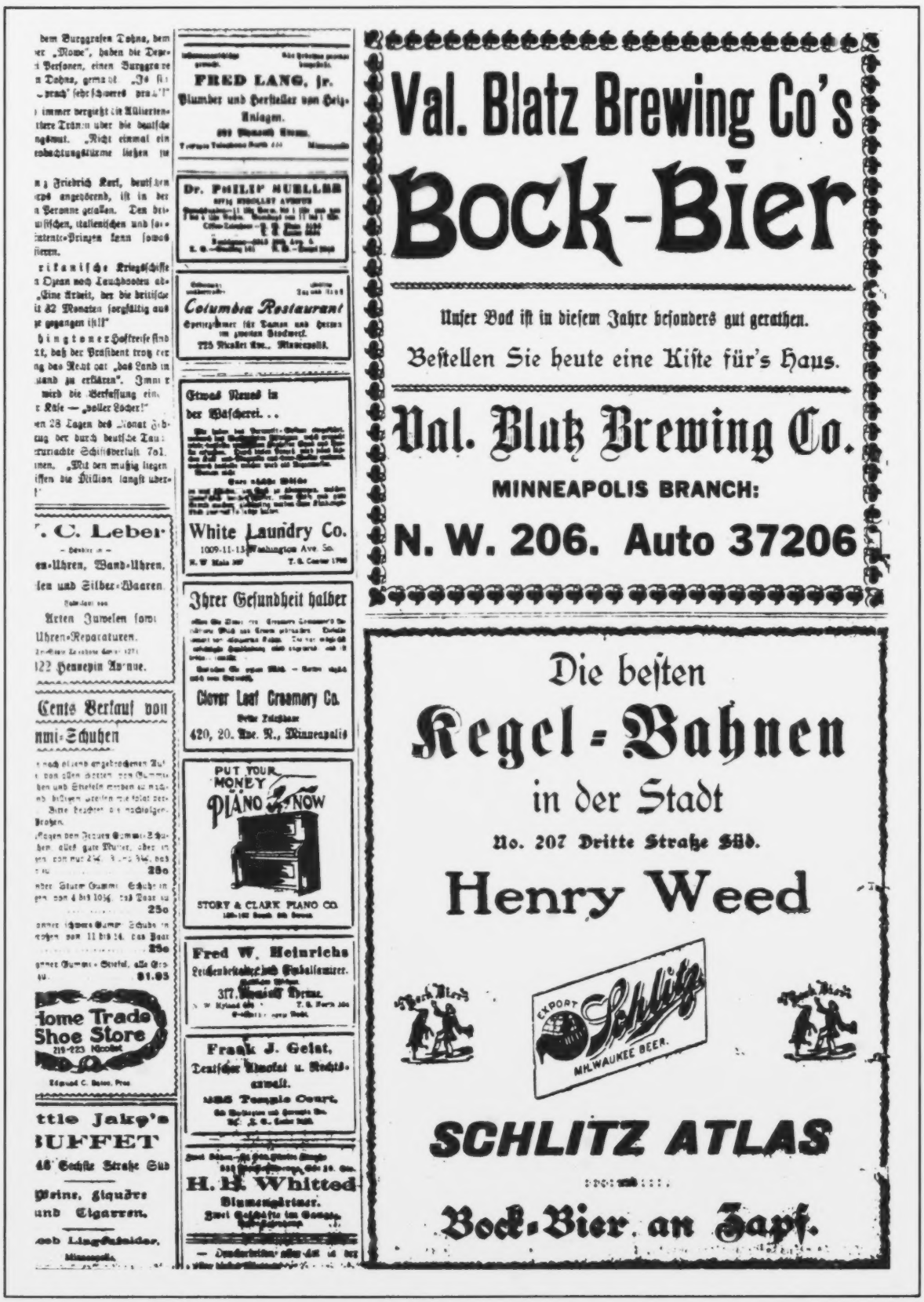

Two competing Milwaukee breweries advertised their bock beer in this January, 1917 issue of the Minneapolis *Freie Presse-Herold*. (Minnesota Historical Society)

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John Haggenmiller's "Pittsburgh Lagerbier-Saloon" on 3rd and Robert, which proclaimed

> Mein Bier ist frisch wie an der Quelle
> Mein Likör rein, mein Wein ist helle,
> Als ausgesuchte Leckerspeis
> Geb'Austern ich von jeder Weis'
> Gut schmecke meine Wurst und Käs'
> Und die Cigarren sind auch nich bös.[35]

Hotels, "Gast- und-Boardinghäuser" also solicit the business of the new arrival or the traveller. These frequently adopted the names of German cities or districts to make the immigrant feel more at home. Patent medicines and cure-alls are advertised in abundance, especially against colds, coughs, irregularity, back-pains and rheumatism. Doctors and pharmacists also advertise, usually in German, to gain the confidence of the new settlers. In the *New Ulm Post* it is amusing to note that the good services of Dr. L.A. Fritsche, physician and surgeon, are consistently listed directly below the advertising for Andreas Saffert's butcher shop! We find announcements of the availability of cheap farmland; railroads advertise transportation to the expanding west, shipping lines cater to those who want to visit their homeland, or who are eager to bring their relatives to America. Consular officials of the German-speaking countries search for relatives and heirs presumed to be in the United States, and schoolboards advertise for teachers able to speak both German and English — to assume teaching duties at the rate of $400 per year.[36] The advertising in the German papers is, indeed, a kaleidoscope of the everyday life of the German immigrants.

The Final Years

After World War I the Minnesota German press had lost its significance. The strong German-American ethnic communities had almost ceased to exist; the United States had become a country of second or third generation Americans who cared little about their roots. Of the few papers that prevailed after the War, most fell victim to the Great Depression. The *New Ulm Post* succumbed in May of 1933. It is to the credit of this fine paper, and perhaps its best epitaph, that its last editorial contains a scathing indictment of the new German regime. Ironically, next to the editorial column there is a paid announcement by the German Railways, the North German Lloyd, and the Hamburg-America Line inviting German-Americans to visit the revitalized, strong Fatherland under its new leader, Adolf Hitler.

The Minnesota German press is a significant document of 100 years of Minnesota history: it is one of the richest sources and has as yet been only marginally explored. Like so much of immigrant history, it has come to us poorly preserved. There exists no central repository, and even the State Historical Society's holdings are incomplete. Much may still be in attics or in private collections; some may be totally lost. The time has come to make a deliberate effort to gather these records of the past before it is too late. Only thus can our heritage be truly fulfilled.

Gerhard Weiss, Professor of German, has been teaching at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis since 1956. A native of Berlin, Germany, he emigrated to the United States in 1946 and, after service in the US Army, completed his undergraduate studies at Washington University (St. Louis) and took his doctorate at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. His areas of research and publication are German literature of the 17th century and of the late 19th-early 20th century. In addition, he is very much involved in the study of German cultural history. He was the national president of the American Association of Teachers of German (1982/83). In 1981, he was given the Horace-Morse-AMOCO award for Outstanding Contributions to Undergraduate Education; in 1982, he was awarded the Cross of Merit 1st class of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany.

A Minneapolis *Freie Presse-Herold* advertisement, January, 1917 (Minnesota Historical Society)

Notes

[1]Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957, p. 13.

[2]For an interesting summary of the increase of German language newspapers in America after 1848, see Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America,* pp. 76-77.

[3]Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America,* p. 7.

[4]This quotation is taken from Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America,* p. 7. Wittke states that it is part of a speech Schurz delivered before the Press Club in New York. I have not been able to verify the quotation in Schurz's works, but have found a somewhat similar statement made by Schurz before the *Deutsche Liederkranz Society* of New York City, on January 9, 1897 (*Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz,* selected and edited by Frederic Bancroft, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1913. Vol. V, pp. 334-338.

[5]Karl J.R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas.* Munich: K.G. Saur, 1980. Vol. 3, pp. 805-806.

[6]Karl J.R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955.* 2nd rev. ed. New York: Johnson Reprint Co. 1965. pp. 228-229.Hildegard BinderJohnson, "The Germans," *They Chose Minnesota,* edited by June D. Holmquist. Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1981. pp. 174-175.

[7]Arndt, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1855,* pp. 220-237.

[8]John C. Massmann, "Friedrich Orthwein: Minnesota's First German Editor," *American-German Review,* April/May, 1960. p. 16.

[9]Massmann, p. 17.

[10]*Ibid.*

[11]La Vern J. Rippley, "Notes About the German Press in the Minnesota River Valley," *The Report,* A Journal of German-American History. Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. XXXV (1972), p. 39; Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America,* p. 99. For a detailed account of Wolff's death, see *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* Sunday, Nov. 26, 1893.

[12]Rippley, p. 38.

[13]Hildegard Binder Johnson, "The Election of 1860 and the Germans in Minnesota," *Minnesota History.* XXVIII (March, 1947), p. 23. See also the opening editorial "Unsere Aufgabe" in the first issue of the *New Ulm Post,* Friday, February 5, 1864.

[14]Hildegard Binder Johnson, "The Election of 1860 and the Germans in Minnesota," p. 23.

[15]Lynwood G. Downs, "The Writings of Albert Wolff," *Minnesota History.* XXVII (Dec. 1946), p. 327. See also *New Ulm Post* between February and June, 1864, for many examples of Wolff's poetry.

[16]Rippley, p. 40.

[17]Wittke, p. 175.

66

[18]Wittke, p. 99.

[19]Arndt and Olson, p. 225.

[20]Wittke, p. 100.

[21]*Die Volkszeitung.* January 5, 1881.

[22]*New Ulm Post,* June and July, 1914.

[23]*New Ulm Post,* July 24, 1914.

[23]*Die Volkszeitung,* January 5, 1881.

[25]March 25, 1864.

[26]*Die Volkszeitung,* January 21, 1881, contains a doggerel about "Sitzbull, böser Häuptling". The *New Ulm Post,* in 1864, frequently derides the Indians.

[27]Rippley, p. 43.

[28]Editorial, April 13, 1917.

[29]*Die Volkszeitung,* editorial January 10, 1881. See also reports in January 6, 1881, issue.

[30]See *Die Volkszeitung* and *New Ulm Post.* Of special interest is the *Sonntagsblatt* of *Die Volkszeitung.*

[31]Wittke, p. 5.

[32]*Die Volkszeitung,* January 12, 1883.

[33]*Die Volkszeitung,* January 21, 1881.

[34]January 2, 1914.

[35]*New Ulm Post,* February 5, 1864.

[36]*New Ulm Post,* March 25, 1864.

Der Wanderer of St. Paul: An Overview of the First Years

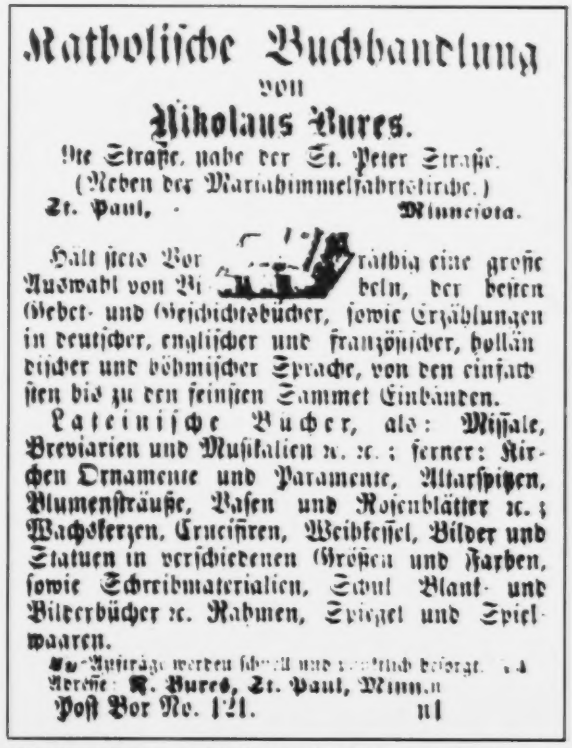
by Father John Kulas, O.S.B.

> The newspaper is omnivorous. Not only political history, but religious, educational and social history, find place in its pages. Literature, especially essays and poetry, was constantly supplied to its readers. If all the printed sources of history for a certain century or decade had to be destroyed save one, that which could be chosen with greatest value to posterity would be a file of an important newspaper.[1]

Thus spoke Clarence Brigham, former Director of the American Antiquarian Society. Forty years earlier in 1908 Daniel S. B. Johnston, writing for the Minnesota Historical Society, expressed the identical viewpoint: "No force in the world today is more potent than journalism; no soldier is more honored than he who serves in its ranks, and no service equals that of the pioneer newspaper in the early beginnings and upbuildings of territory and state."[2]

It is not my intention to suggest that *Der Wanderer* of St. Paul would be the one pioneer German newspaper singled out for immortalization in the second half of the 19th century. Nevertheless, even while affirming that *Der Wanderer* has no pre-eminent place among early Minnesota newspapers, these words serve to place this journal in a context which underlines its importance. And for the Minnesota German Catholic scene this newspaper is truly unique, a point later editors were not loathe to suggest. Writing in a front-page editorial of the first number of the English-language *The Wanderer,* which was founded on January 8, 1931 to be a companion to *Der Wanderer* (until 1957) and then to be its successor, Joseph Matt declared with no hint of doubt: "One would needs have to write the history of the past sixty years of the Catholic Church in the Northwest to do full justice to the important part the *Wanderer* has played."[3] Without seeking to do this "full justice" one is at least encouraged to begin.

The American press in the mid-nineteenth


Katholische Buchhandlung
von
Nikolaus Bures.
9te Straße, nahe der St. Peter Straße.
(Neben der Mariahimmelfahrtskirche.)
St. Paul, Minnesota.

Hält stets Vorräthig eine große Auswahl von Bi[illegible]beln, der besten Gebet- und Geschichtsbücher, sowie Erzählungen in deutscher, englischer und französischer, holländischer und böhmischer Sprache, von den einfachsten bis zu den feinsten Sammet Einbänden.

Lateinische Bücher, als: Missale, Breviarien und Musikalien ꝛc. ꝛc.; ferner: Kirchen Ornamente und Paramente, Altarspitzen, Blumensträuße, Vasen und Rosenblätter ꝛc.; Wachskerzen, Crucifixen, Weihkessel, Bilder und Statuen in verschiedenen Größen und Farben, sowie Schreibmaterialien, Schul Blank- und Bilderbücher ꝛc. Rahmen, Spiegel und Spielwaaren.

Ⓟ Aufträge werden schnell und [illegible]lich besorgt.
Adresse: N. Bures, St. Paul, Minn.
Post Box No. 121.

Nicolaus Bures, Catholic Book-seller, had his store on Ninth Street between St. Peter and Vine Streets according to his 1866 advertisement in the St. Paul Directory. The next year *Der Wanderer* was founded in this store, which was next door to Assumption Church. Nikolaus Bures is spelled with a 'k" when this German advertisement appeared in *Der Wanderer*.

century was a burgeoning institution. As early as 1830 the United States with a population of less than thirteen million published more newspapers than Europe with a population of 185 million.[4] Of these, the foreign-language American press was responsible for a significant number, and it has been estimated that during this period more foreign-language newspapers and periodicals were published in proportion to the foreign-born population than were published in the home countries in proportion to the native born.[5]

Most numerous of all were the German-American publications. Throughout the nineteenth century the ratio of German publications

to all other foreign-language publications was well in excess of two to one, reaching in 1885 the figure of seventy-nine percent of the whole.[6]

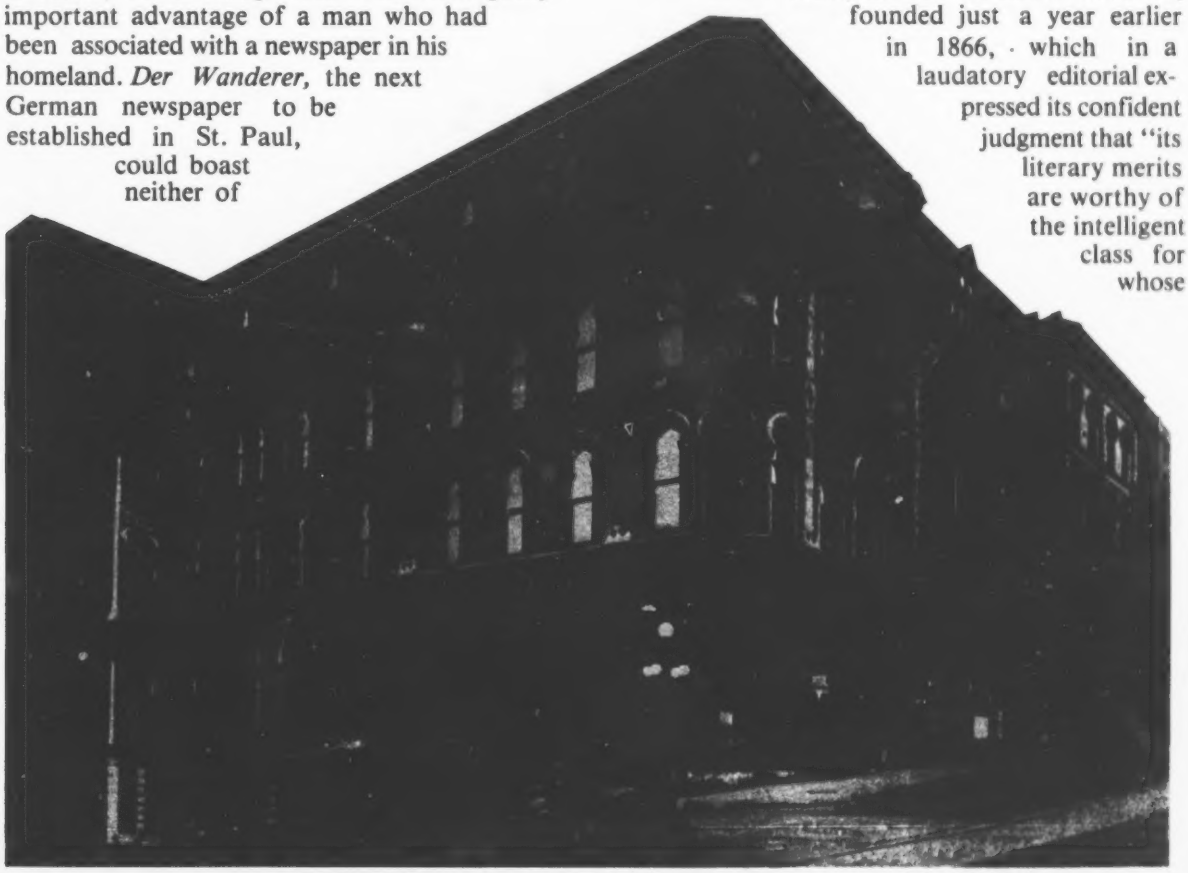
First Press in 1855

The German-American press came to Minnesota in 1855 with the establishment of *Die Minnesota Deutsche Zeitung*. It is perhaps not without significance that its first editor, Albert Wolff, who became an important figure in early Minnesota journalism, was also a "forty-eighter," one of those refugees from the political oppression following the collapse of the 1848 revolutionary movements in Europe.[7] Many of these men, like Wolff, turned to journalism in America, and because they as a rule were better educated and commanded a more forceful written style than editors before them the quality of German-American newspapers increased markedly with their arrival.[8]

The second German newspaper in the state to stay in existance more than a few years, the *Minnesota Volksblatt,* founded six years later in St. Paul, did not have the benefit of a forty-eighter as editor, but in Philip Rohr it had the equally important advantage of a man who had been associated with a newspaper in his homeland. *Der Wanderer,* the next German newspaper to be established in St. Paul, could boast neither of forty-eighter nor experienced journalist among its founders, but those shortcomings notwithstanding it began what was to become ninety years of uninterrupted publication with no less enthusiasm and confidence.[9]

This was the masthead of *Der Wanderer* as it first appeared on November 16, 1867.

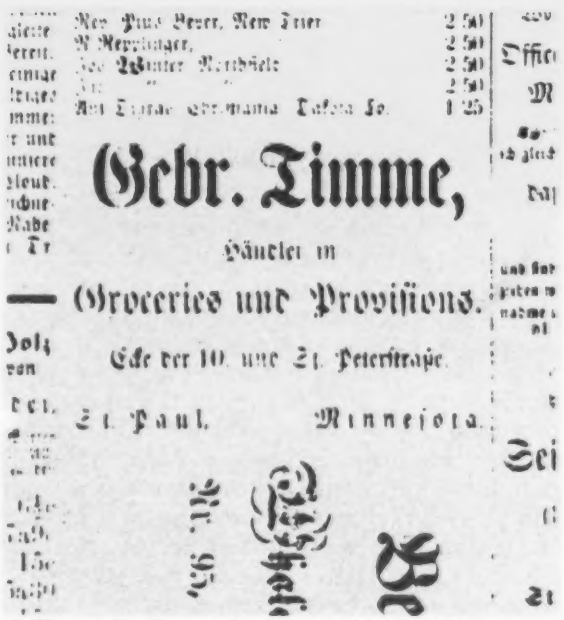
Der Wanderer, whose initial issue was printed on November 16, 1867 shared its natal year with the Minnesota Newspaper Association and the *Minneapolis Tribune.*[10] Its appearance was welcomed warmly by its sister Catholic weekly in the state, the *Northwestern Chronicle,* founded just a year earlier in 1866, which in a laudatory editorial expressed its confident judgment that "its literary merits are worthy of the intelligent class for whose



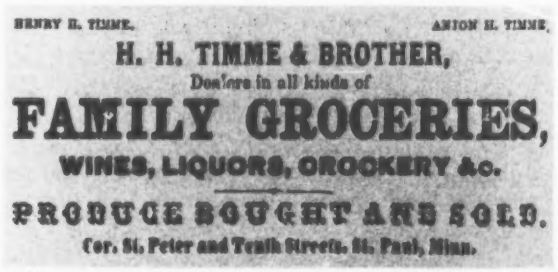
***Volkszeitung* Building, Third and Jackson, November 17, 1928. The *Staatszeitung* and the *Volksblatt* were contemporaries of *Der Wanderer* and later combined to form the *Volkszeitung*. (Minnesota Historical Society)**

benefit it published."[11] *Der Wanderer* joined six other German-language Catholic weeklies in the country and throughout its existence remained the only such paper in Minnesota.[12]

The objectives and purpose of this newspaper are clearly enunciated in the first issue and these are repeated explicitly in many an initial number of succeeding volumes. The title page, with an engraving of a man with walking staff striding jauntily along, proclaimed in ringing alliteration it to be "Ein Wochenblatt fuer sittliches Wirken und Wissen," and in the *Prospektus* on page three we can read that "the *Wanderer* will seek faithfully to report important ecclesiastical and political occurences in Minnesota, in the United States and all over the world. In addition it will be concerned to provide entertainment and educational features." These objectives are all neatly summarized in a charming piece of front-page doggerel, submitted by a nearby pastor.[13]


Gebr. Timme,
Händler in
Groceries und Provisions.
Ecke der 10. und St. Peterstraße.
St. Paul. Minnesota.

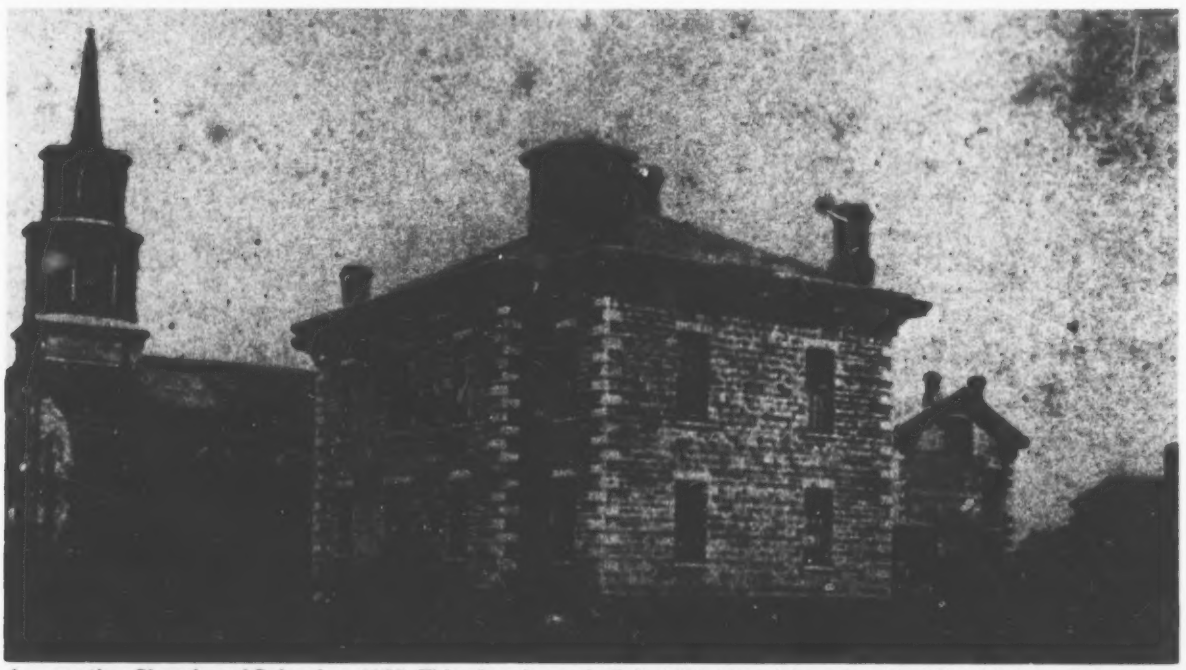
A Timme Brothers advertisement in *Der Wanderer*


HENRY H. TIMME. ANTON H. TIMME.
H. H. TIMME & BROTHER,
Dealers in all kinds of
FAMILY GROCERIES,
WINES, LIQUORS, CROCKERY &c.
PRODUCE BOUGHT AND SOLD.
Cor. St. Peter and Tenth Streets, St. Paul, Minn.

H.H. Timme was one of the founders of *Der Wanderer*. (Advertisement in McLung's St. Paul Directory)

A Lay Catholic Venture

Though *Der Wanderer* especially in its early years had a close relationship with the official Church organization, it was from the beginning an enterprise organized and run by lay men. Plans for this undertaking were made in late 1867 when a small group of such concerned and dedicated



Assumption Church and School, c. 1865. This church was built in 1855-56 and the school in 1864. All the collaborators of *Der Wanderer* worshipped at the "German Church." In the 1870s, a new church was built. (Minnesota Historical Society)

The Reverend Clemens Staub, O.S.B. (1819-1886), pastor of Assumption Church in St. Paul from 1863 to 1875, was one of the founders of *Der Wanderer*. (St. John's Abbey Archives)

Catholic people met with their pastor, Benedictine Father Clemens Staub, "in the back room of Nick Bures' dingy book and stationery store on St. Paul's old Main Street. . ."[14] Father Clemens was certainly instrumental in getting the paper started (the early issues included a signed statement encouraging subscriptions); the support (even financial) of St. John's Abbey was frequently gratefully recounted by later editors; the endorsement of local bishops was proudly trumpeted from the front page for years; priests were often enrolled as subscription agents and were industrious in promoting the journal from their pulpits. Nonetheless, with the possible exception of a few months in the first year the editorship was always in the hands of a lay man, and the publishing company which owned the paper, again with the exception of a period of seven years when Staub was president, was in the exclusive hands of lay people.[15] It has remained aggressively so down to the present day.

These men seemed to have no particular expertise for an undertaking of this kind. The centennial edition of *The Wanderer* includes an article on the beginnings of the paper which emphasizes that it was "a group of little men" who met to organize this enterprise, although in a similar story ten years earlier they are referred to as "prominent Catholic laymen."[16] They came from all classes and included a priest, a teacher who doubled as bookseller, a building tradesman, and a storekeeper.[17] They clearly were not men of notable erudition, and the priest was probably the best educated among them.

Their readers were undoubtedly not any better educated and were like most of their fellow German immigrants of the period members of the lower middle class, poor, though not indigent, artisans, laborers, farmers and merchants.[18] But the range of the news coverage of *Der Wanderer*, both foreign and domestic, the scope of its articles, the incisiveness of its editorials indicate that these were alert and inquisitive readers who wanted to be educated, edified and entertained.

Der Wanderer was never a mass circulation journal, and its pages are constantly full of exhortations for support of the Catholic press, pleas for additional subscriptions, reminders of the benefits of mailing the paper to friends and relatives abroad, and at the beginning of each new volume somewhat frantic admonitions to delinquent subscribers to pay their bills. Nevertheless, despite the frequent editorial lamentations the readership was obviously sufficient to maintain the paper in good health to a ripe old age. The early years were undoubtedly a struggle, but by 1875 circulation had reached 3,000 and by

Assumption Church on Ninth Street in St. Paul, sometimes known as "the German Cathedral," was under construction from 1870 to 1874. *Der Wanderer* said this church, designed like the Ludwigskirche in Munich, was the finest ecclesiatical structure in the Northwest. (St. John's Abbey Archives)

the turn of the century it was hovering around the 11,000 mark before the inevitable decline set in.[19].

Already in the first year of publication designated agents were soliciting subscriptions in a half dozen states from Texas to Montana and New York as well as in Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin. The majority of readers, however, resided in Minnesota. In 1881 J. Fletcher Williams' *History of St. Paul* could term the journal a "wide-awake paper" employing six to ten men, "well patronized as an advertising medium by most of the leading business houses of St. Paul." It was proving to be a "great success financially as well as otherwise."[20]

European News Reported

Though year-end editorials in the early years constantly bewailed the presence of carping critics and somewhat plaintively accepted the journalistic truism that no paper could please all its readers, *Der Wanderer* was sufficiently broad in the scope of its articles to appeal to a large segment of the German-speaking Catholic population.[21] Each issue had its sections on European and national news, including under both headings a good deal of political news. The frequently used column headings "Cable Dispatches" and "By Telegraph" underscored the fact that the telegraph had only lately reached St. Paul. There were sections on ecclesiastical news, both foreign and domestic, and a plethora of articles with religious themes, while closer to home news of city and state appeared on a page that by the spring of 1869 carried the designation of "official city newspaper." In a more practical vein, articles on household and agricultural topics appeared regularly with an abundance of helpful hints ranging from how to can crab apples and how to treat frozen feet to better ways of fertilizing. For their leisure hours readers could turn to the literary page which presented serialized fiction and poetry, the latter mostly by local writers and usually dealing with religious themes. An increasing amount of space was devoted to advertising, and no paper was complete without its column or two of humor, found most typically on the last page otherwise devoted entirely to advertisements.

Especially in the early years many articles or excerpts were reprinted from other domestic and foreign newspapers, a trait typical of the journalistic practice of the day. A surprising number of stories were also submitted by various foreign and local correspondents. The remainder of the paper was presumably composed by the editor, although most articles were published without bylines.

Der Wanderer was initially printed with eight pages, each having five columns of print. In 1872 with the beginning of the sixth volume each of the eight pages appeared with six columns, yielding, as the editor proudly asserted, an increase of reading material by fifty percent.[22] This format was maintained for the rest of the first decade.

Vigorously Catholic

No reader could mistake the fact that *Der Wanderer* was a Catholic publication. It was, to be sure, not only that, but devotion to the Catholic faith was one of its salient features. It was not so much that Catholic news and articles by their sheer quantity dominated the entire paper, it was rather that these articles were invariably characterized by a commitment, an assurance and occasionally by a belligerence that admitted of few questions and no discussion at all. On such issues it was the purpose of this newspaper flatly to instruct, assert, exhort and where necessary to reprove.

Many of these articles were designed to provide the readers with information and instruction in the Catholic faith. There were stories on the Pope, on the observance of Sundays and religious feasts, and on the history of the Church. Discussion of matters of doctrine were often written with a polemical intent, such as a series of articles which after listing common objections to Catholic belief proceeded to refute them in detail.[23]

Some articles were more theoretical in scope as, for example, the almost untranslatable "Zeitbewusstsein, Zeitbestrebungen, Zeitgeist und oeffentliche Meinung."[24] Others were practically sermons.[25] Many others simply informed their readers of church doings both at home and abroad. The range of such articles was limitless, and perusing them one can easily see how *Der Wanderer* was readily accepted by local clergy as a potent arm of Catholic instruction.

The aggressively Catholic nature of this publication can be seen too in its frequent perception and vehement denunciation of anti-Catholicism in any of its forms, real or imagined. Some examples from the first two volumes will serve to illustrate the point. On one occasion the *St. Paul Press* and the *St. Paul Dispatch* are sternly taken to task for criticizing the local Democratic ticket because of alleged overrepresentation of Catholics. They had expressed concern over possible misuse of school funds, but they are quickly dismissed by *Der Wanderer* as being

"Know Nothing" papers.[26] A few months later a letter to the editor rebuked the local *Volksblatt* for what the writer perceived to be anti-Catholic utterances and urged *Der Wanderer* to be more aggressive in refuting such articles. The challenge was accepted, and an unsigned editorial in the following issue lambasted the *Volksblatt* and its editor by name culminating in this outburst: "We would like to mention in conclusion that Mr. Lienau would be wise in the future to hold his dirty tongue." ("Wenn er sein ungewaschenes Maul hielte.")[27] (This clearly was hardly an era of genteel journalism.)

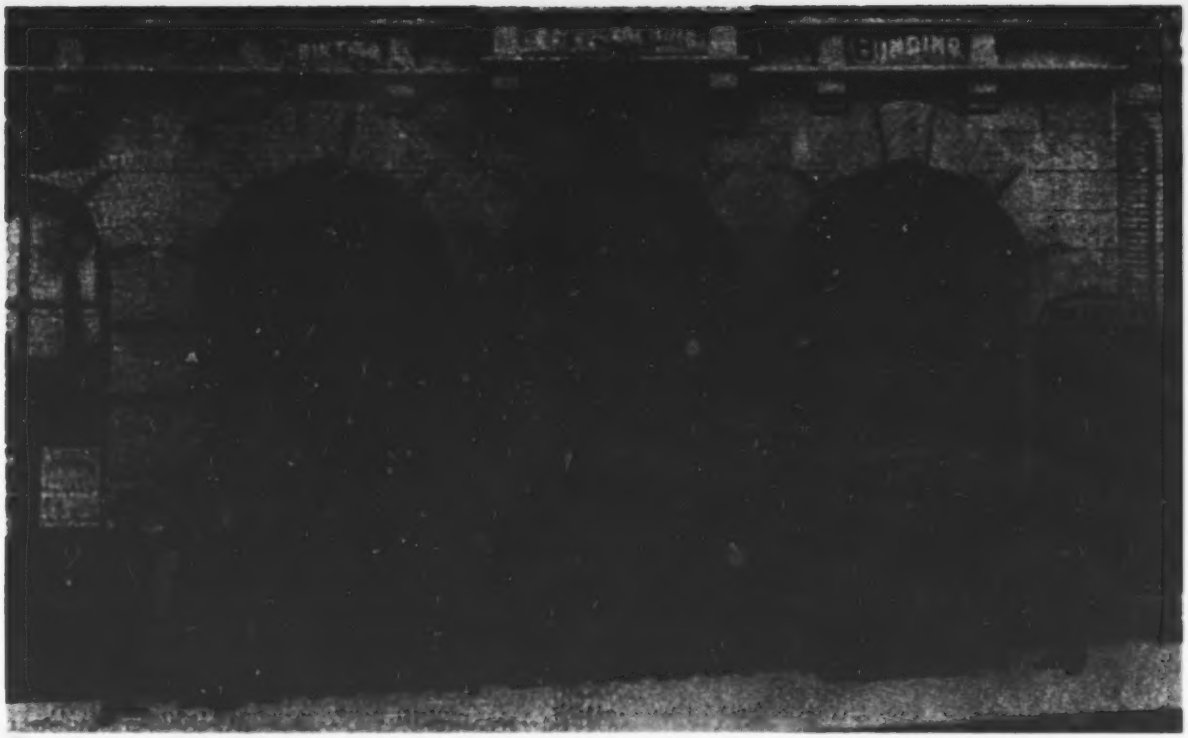
It was deemed necessary to write articles defending the Catholic's right to engage in politics;[28] other articles sought to counter the outcry in the Austrian press advocating the dissolution of monasteries;[29] a satirical piece was aimed at demolishing the anti-Catholic canard alleging that Catholics were forbidden to read the Bible.[30]

Relations With Secular Press

It is clear that a close watch was kept on the local and world-wide press for articles unfavorable to Catholicism. *Die Gartenlaube* of Leipzig was scornfully categorized as an anti-Catholic publication and the *St. Paul Press* was indignantly cited because, as the editor pointed out, "in almost every issue — in one field or another — one finds the flourishing stinkweeds of fanaticism."[31] It is hard to escape the impression that a kind of fortress mentality was at hand when one reads the sweeping statement with which an article defending Spain against allegations of religious intolerance ends: "Most newspapers by far are edited by people who consider the Catholic faith to be the worst kind of nonsense, all the while not understanding an iota of it."[32]

The editors were invariably as deeply convinced of the vast potential for good in the Catholic press as they were outraged at what they believed to be the excesses of the more sensational and often anti-religious secular press. Their frequent warnings against the dangers of the press were coupled with exhortations to support Catholic publications like *Der Wanderer*. Catholics were urged to "emancipate [themselves] from the evil press" which indeed could even be found in their own midst. Thus the English papers of St.

St. Paul *Press* Building on the southwest corner of Minnesota and Third Street in 1874. The original *Wanderer* offices were located nearby. (Minnesota Historical Society)



The staff of the *Pioneer Press*, c. 1885. There are occasional references to the *Press* in the pages of *Der Wanderer*. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Paul and especially the *Press* were castigated for their scurrilous reporting."

In an editorial for the first issue in which he is listed as editor Theodor Muellenmeister speaks at length of the "Power of the Press" which he also uses for the title of his essay. The press, he says, is a gift of God, but abused it will become a potent source of evil. Then he avows: "We will seek to oppose this corrupt and destructive spirit, the enemy of all true and sacred order, in the very domain in which it scores its greatest victories."[34] A few issues later he is highly laudatory of the Catholic illustrated monthly, *Alte und Neue Welt,* which he sees as a sound antidote to the seductive qualities of other publications of this sort, "which pave the way to the flower-covered slough of every conceivable perversity."[35] The Catholic press is usually seen as a bastion of truth and virtue in an otherwise dangerous world.

Aggressively German

Der Wanderer was not only aggressively Catholic; it was also aggressively German. German interests were defended, German causes were promoted, German ideas and values were nurtured. Anything detracting from those ideals was decried.

In this *Der Wanderer* played the customary role of the foreign-language American press generally. It was the instrument for the maintenance and intensification of bonds whose roots went back to the old world. It was generally speaking conservative. And yet, inevitably, almost in spite of itself, the foreign-language press also accelerated the process of assimilation into American life. Because it spoke to its readers in the language most familiar to them or in many instances in the only language they knew, the German press was the instrument introducing them to the new conditions of American life. Apparently contradictory, yet somehow complementary, these roles of conservation and assimilation often took place side by side.[36] German clannishness was indeed a reality in the nineteenth century, but the fences thrown up were not insurmountable.

Evidence of both roles can be found in the pages of *Der Wanderer.* There were frequent appeals to retain and transmit the German language. A spirited admonition addressed to "die Yankee-Deutschen" berated those German immigrants who no longer spoke their native language. Admitting it was all right to learn English (with the aside that most don't learn it well anyway), the editor declared that respect for one's own roots was the prerequisite for respect from others, and he concluded with the passionate cry:

"I'll say it again: remain German."[37] He came to the same subject in the following issue and asserted: "The last thing we are is a German fanatic, but we believe that among themselves and in their families Germans should speak German."

For the same reason and even more because of religious grounds *Der Wanderer* was a staunch defender and promoter of Catholic schools, which among the German-speaking people would inevitably be German or at least bilingual. The newspaper played a leading role in defeating legislation making attendance at public schools compulsory and the first edition of the English-language *The Wanderer* in looking back on the accomplishments of its German sister took satisfaction in the 1904 statement of a local ecclesiastical leader to the effect that the German Catholics of Minnesota had saved the parish school.[38]

Yet from the beginning *Der Wanderer* was at pains to introduce its subscribers to all aspects of public life, politics especially. In its surprisingly detailed accounts of events and issues in both national and local politics it assumed interest and participation on the part of its readers, at least to the extent of voting. To be sure, political-party programs were evaluated in part, at least, by how well they served German interests, and on the local level there was concern to elect more Germans to public office, but this has always been the practice of groups in American politics, and by urging participation even at the local caucus level *Der Wanderer* was bringing its readers directly into the mainstream of public life.[39]

An article on "The Germans in the Family of Nations and in America" did not stint in its praise of their elegant language and the contributions they had always made, but it stressed the fact that these accomplishments were not going to be made by evoking some pride in German nationalism but rather by the personal talents and diligence of individuals working to achieve some useful purpose.[40] Directly and indirectly, through papers like *Der Wanderer* German-speaking Americans

The American House, a restaurant and hotel established in 1869 on the corner of Fourth and Wabasha, not far from the later location of *Wanderer* offices. It was established by Nicholas Pottgieser, who often ran ads for his establishment in *Der Wanderer*. The picture is c. 1873. (Minnesota Historical Society)

were invited and encouraged into effective interaction with their English-speaking fellow citizens. This was an accomplishment of their journalists at least on a par with their valiant efforts to justify the preservation of some sense of German identity, for the results of the former were clearly more lasting than the other. In view of that, one can perhaps smile indulgently at the extravagance underlying an article such as one entitled "The American Northwest Belongs to the Germans" and recognize it as untypical ballyhoo.[41] The true spirit of *Der Wanderer* was perhaps better reflected in the words of later editor Joseph Matt, who in his first issue, praised the concept of hyphenated (German-) Americans, since without this punctuation mark the individual would be neither German nor American. He implored his compatriots in the wider society to permit the Germans their hyphen and went on to declare that "the true German and patriotic American can transcend the hyphen and joining hands will be able to work together."[42]

H.H. Miller (Mueller) a printer who at one time worked for the *Minnesota Staatszeitung as foreman before taking a similar post at Der Wanderer*. Miller, an early member of the *Wanderer* Company and for many years its treasurer, was for a time a member of the Minnesota State Legislature. (*Andreas Atlas*, Minnesota Historical Society)

Changed Editors Often

Three editors directed *Der Wanderer* for the first two volumes of its publication. This simple statement of fact is at once inaccurate and a good deal more complex. It is inaccurate, for from number twenty-three of the first volume to the beginning of volume two the newspaper appeared with no editor named. Obviously, someone was functioning as editor during this time. It is more complex, since these early editorial changes were invariably made without even the slightest nod to the previous incumbent. The complexity and indeed the mystery is heightened when one discovers the errors in fact committed by later chroniclers of *Der Wanderer's* early editorial history. In view of the paper's own reticence it is perhaps not surprising that a number of standard reference works should propose inaccurate information.[43] That later editors of the newspaper itself in recounting its past history should overlook some of their predecessors is, at least, curious.

The first editors of *Der Wanderer* as the paper lists them are:

Eugen L. Ehrhardt, Vol. 1:1 to Vol. 1:22, Nov. 16, 1867 to April 11, 1868.
No editor named, Vol. 1:23 to Vol. 1:52, April 18, 1868 to November 7, 1868.
Theo. Muellenmeister, Vol. 2:53 to Vol. 2:96, November 14, 1868 to September 11, 1869.
Fr. Fassbind, Vol. 2:97 to Vol. 17:7, September 18, 1869 to December 6, 1883.

The annual retrospects in *Der Wanderer* during its first decade make no mention at all of previous editors. The silver-jubilee issue does express gratitude for the work of predecessors, but it lists no names. In the golden-jubilee issue, however, (September 20, 1917) the editor at the time after thanking earlier colleagues states that there have been only two of them. These he lists as Fr. Fassbind, "who with the help of Benedictine priests and other friends served as editor until 1883" and the latter's successor Hugo Klapproth. In 1931 when the first number of the English edition appeared a brief recapitulation of personnel involved with the paper's past asserted that *Der Wanderer* had had but three editors up to that time: "Fr. Fassbind, from 1867 to 1883; Hugo Klapproth, from 1883 to 1899; Joseph Matt, from 1899 to the present time."[44] An unsigned article in the centennial issue (1967, though correctly identifying Eugene Ehrhardt from the Rhineland as first editor, gives no further information on the topic. These discrepancies are strange and unexpected, but further research will undoubtedly clarify the situation.

Third Street in St. Paul in 1859, showing Red River Ox Carts. The proprietor of the drug store is probably not the same J.N. Schröder who appears as the first publisher of *Der Wanderer*. (Minnesota Historical Society)

What Edwin H. Ford said about early Minnesota journalism is largely applicable also to *Der Wanderer's* first years.

> Editorial comment permeated a large part of the non-advertising material printed. Much of the news was editorialized; the editorial page contained the opinions of the editor on national, state and community affairs, and editorial utterances from other newspapers were clipped and distributed liberally throughout the paper. It was an incredibly dull territorial journal which did not, in some fashion, reflect the opinions and personality of its editor.[45]

In the absence of extensive biographical information about the early editors some effort may then be made to discern something about their personality by analyzing the issues published during their respective tenure.

Exuberant First Editor

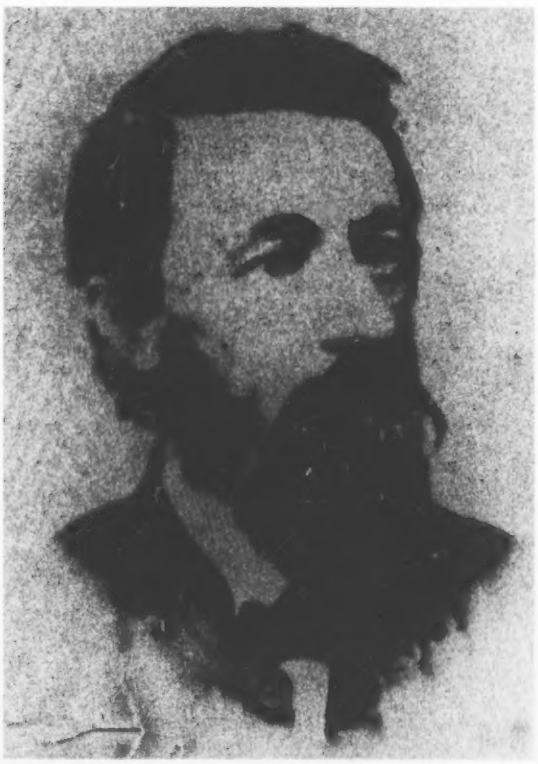
The stamp that the first editor, Eugen L. Ehrhardt, put on the paper can be gleaned mostly from his irrepressible opinion column "Plapper-Raisonnir-und Debattir-Kaemmerchen," which appeared in every issue in which his name is listed as editor except the last one. This column, which can roughly be translated as "The Little Chatterbox Debating Club," was unsigned but it evidently contains the views of the editor.[46] For this space Ehrhardt created three characters: Franz, Michel, and Jockel, who talked and gossiped and clowned about every conceivable public issue, the latter two often speaking in Bavarian and Suabian dialect with Franz leading the discussion. There is vivaciousness and humor here and a sometimes heavy-handed satire as one public figure after another is held up for ridicule and scorn. It is the Republicans at home and Europeans with an anti-clerical bent who are the

most frequent targets. Thus, Grant, Stanton, and Stevens, and Garibaldi, King Ludwig II, and Bismarck week after week are set up and demolished by this trio of down-to-earth observers. There are occasional local references, but these are handled with gentle amusement.

One can see well enough where the editor stands. His political persuasions are Democratic and his religious attitudes are solidly Catholic. One cannot say that this boisterous mood finds its way into other columns of the paper, but nonetheless this piece in itself is sufficient to give it a lighter touch. Nothing at all like it is found under succeeding editors.

Like his later colleagues this editor provides international and domestic and local news coverage in the staccato news-brief style which is typical of much of 19th-century journalism. However, there are also many longer articles, and particular attention is given to the unfolding story of the attempts to impeach President Johnson. There is also a strongly religious tone to the paper, as the front page regularly carried stories on the Church and church issues.

In the long run, however, it is the volatile carryings on in the cozy debating club which leave the more lasting impression. And this irreverent style may possibly have been the reason for Ehrhardt's sudden disappearance from the scene.



John C. Devereaux, first editor of the *Northwestern Chronicle*, a contemporary of *Der Wanderer* and like it a Catholic paper. The portrait was taken on the occasion of the founding of the Minnesota Editorial Association in 1867, an organization *Der Wanderer* seemed not to have joined. (Whitney photo, Minnesota Historical Society)

Stirring Call to Arms

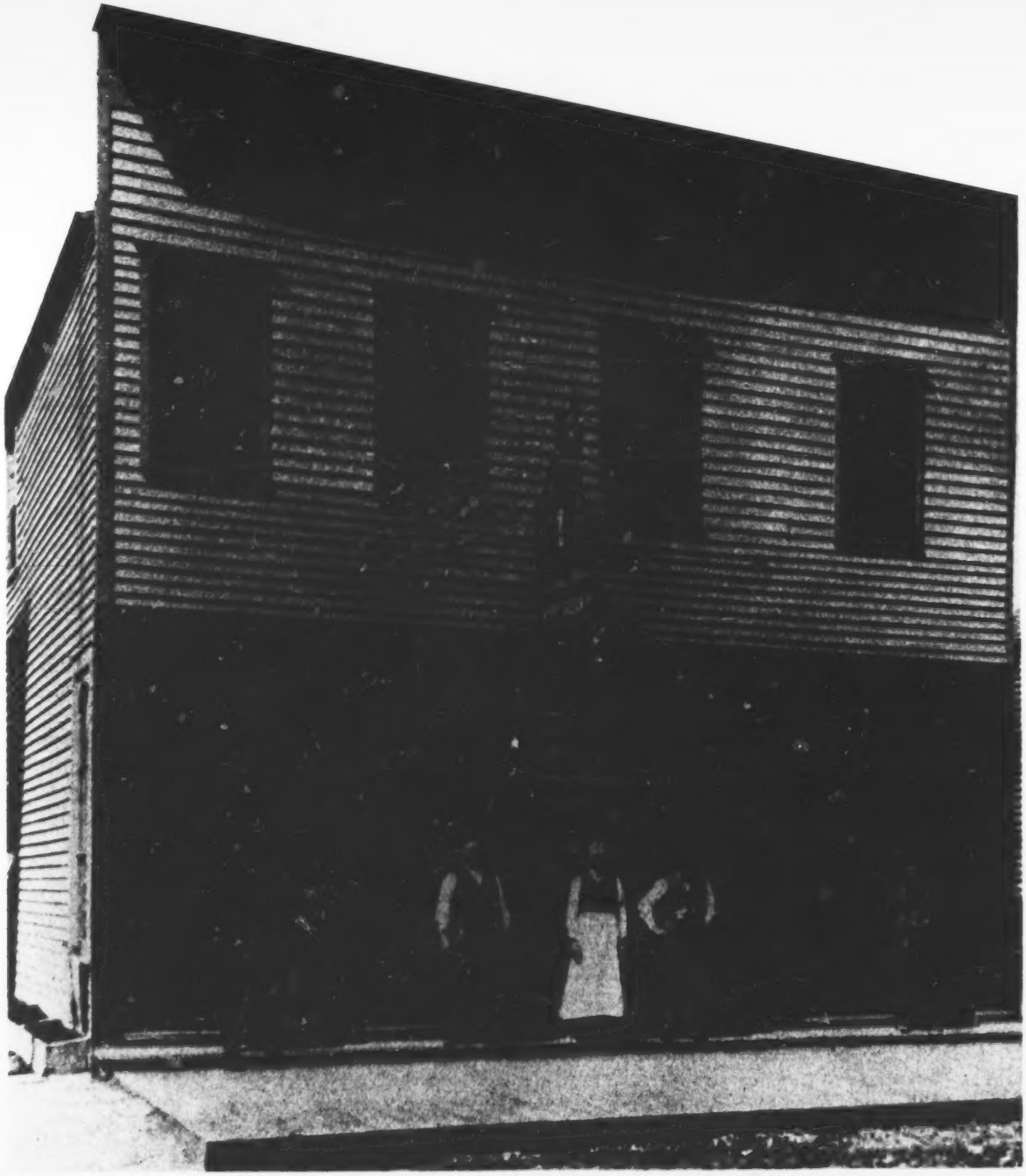
Whatever the reason, the paper in April 1868 entered the period during which no editor is explicitly listed. The second such issue makes an oblique reference to possible dissatisfaction in some quarters with the way things have been going when it begs the reader's indulgence for any possible defects, appealing in explanation to the journal's extreme youth and all the tantalizingly unnamed difficulties it had to confront.[47]

The same issue contains a stirring call to arms in which the Catholic character of the paper is strongly reaffirmed. There is blunt language decrying the insidious influence of the general press and urging all Catholics to "fight against the forces of hell and its minions."

The newspaper does indeed seem to have a markedly more doctrinal and polemical religious spirit in this period. Front-page articles and editorials on religious subjects continue. A lengthy series of articles with a distinctly and increasingly apologetical tone in which frequently heard objections to Catholic doctrine are stated only to be firmly refuted appears now on page two. An early piece in this series is introduced with the curiously suggestive and possibly ironic words: "*Der Wanderer* takes the liberty in accordance with the overall objectives of the paper of presenting to its readers now and again a Catholic article."[48] There is a hint here perhaps that the previous editor had not given due space and consideration to these matters.

At the same time political news, particularly on the national level, seem to get less extensive coverage than heretofore, and the tone of the comments appears to be more restrained. However, the events of the President's acquittal are faithfully recorded, and considerable attention is given to the upcoming Democratic convention. The political direction of the paper has not changed; its tone may, however, have become muted.

The July 11 issue contains an article entitled "Sermons for Sleepyheads," which though unsigned is clearly written by a priest. The piece in itself is not remarkable, but its authorship leads one to think of Reverend Clemens Staub, one of the men involved in the founding of the paper, who in the summer of the following year was to begin a seven-year stint as elected president of the German Catholic Printing Company, *Der*



Saloon of Nicholas Pottgieser, Jr., c. 1885. From 1873-87 the Pottgieser family lived on the second floor of this building. A member of this family was the business manager of *Der Wanderer* for many years. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Wanderer's publisher. Staub's close relationship with the paper and its seemingly more pronounced religious orientation during this period suggests speculation that he may in fact have been functioning anonymously as editor. Indeed, both Arndt and Willigang, without identifying the source of their information, indicate that Staub did function as editor, though the dates they suggest are inaccurate.[49]

New Editor in 1868

Whether or not this was the case, *Der Wanderer* was about to get a new, though for the moment likewise unnamed editor. The change occurred quite clearly with the issue of September 12, 1868. Though the writer sedulously

refrains from divulging his identity, a page-two editorial is obviously the first statement of a new leader of the paper. The author reaffirms the Catholic character of the journal and acknowledges its Democratic leanings, but he is, at the same time, at pains to emphasize his essential objectivity and his intention to produce a newspaper "free from all tendentious distortion and unsightly trash," that will be attractive to all serious readers. Republicans and non-Catholics will, to be sure, as he freely admits, not always be in agreement with what they encounter.

On the next page, however, the editor becomes much more sharply partisan. He roundly attacks Republican policies, clearly states his allegiance to the Democratic party, which he lauds as the party of the non-privileged, and urges a large voter turn-out in the upcoming presidential election. There are numerous articles on many of the current issues in this and succeeding numbers, each one vociferously pro-Democratic. Objectivity, it is clear, quickly gave way to undisguised promotion.

That a new and more intense political orientation of *Der Wanderer* was taking place was adumbrated already in the issue before the change of editors by the announcement that a greater amount of political news could be expected.[50] That expectation was quickly fulfilled in good measure.

In addition to the increased number of often highly editorialized articles of a political bent the editor used a new section entitled "Political Paragraphs for the Sovereign People" as an instrument for the expression of his political views. In profoundly earnest, deeply impassioned and sometimes colorful prose he vigorously entered the fray. An article, "Let the Facts Speak for Themselves," proclaimed that the Republicans trampled on basic rights, ignored the constitution and provided neither peace nor justice nor union. A page-three editorial denounced the Reconstruction policy which gave Blacks in the South political rights to the detriment of the whites. "Trump Card" was a bitter almost despairing editorial decrying the evils of "radical" policies which he proclaimed favored the monied class and fostered excesses in the use of negro political power. All of this was contained in the issue of October 24, 1968 and there was much more to come.

Grant was dismissed as "completely incompetent."[51] In a strange image for a Catholic paper Reconstruction administrations were likened to the Inquisition.[52] Republican monetary, tax, and budget policies were flayed unmercifully, while another piece displayed the inflammatory headline: "Moral Decay, Extravagance and Opulence in the Waning Years of the Roman Republic: A Reflection of Our Country."[53] There was criticism of the implicit militarism underlying Grant's candidacy and another long article more soberly analyzed the Democratic position on bonds and taxation.[54]

Soberly reviewed or passionately articulated, the issues of this election year were extensively presented to *Der Wanderer's* readers. In the closing days of the campaign the editor attempted to inject a note of moderation by reminding his readers of the basic purpose of the newspaper as a Catholic journal, "a school for the people. . ., teaching and entertaining, injuring no one." Since, however, it remained necessary also to take a stand on the political issues, he went on to announce ironically that he intended to "support [those political parties] encumbered with the fewest deficiencies." Partisanship, it seems, was never far from his mind and cloaking it under the guise of religious doctrine he declared categorically that no genuine Catholic could legitimately function as editor from the "radical" point of view.[55]

The editor could with reason declare his paper's commitment to Roman Catholic values, for *Der Wanderer* continued to give prominence to stories of religion. Front-page articles of this kind continued to appear, but they seemed to adopt a more reasoned, less emotional tone and to proceed more often from the historical than from the polemical point of view.[56] On the other hand, there is no question of the strongly sectarian thrust of these articles, and this editor like the others yields to no one in the vehemence of his defense of the Catholic faith.

Muellenmeister a Firebrand

There is little doubt who this editor is. The evident continuity existing between these issues and those under the editorship of Theodor Muellenmeister, whose tenure explicitly begins with the first number of the new volume (November 14, 1868), renders all but impossible the judgment that anyone but Muellenmeister was functioning as editor in this earlier period. Why his name is not mentioned remains a mystery, but an oblique verification of his involvement with the paper from this time can be derived from the fact that beginning with the number following the obvious change of editors a frequent contributor of verse is "Theo. M."

With the beginning of the second volume, then, Theodor Muellenmeister is explicitly presented to the readers as editor. Once again, the reasons prompting this change are loudly left unsaid. The editor proceeds immediately to out-

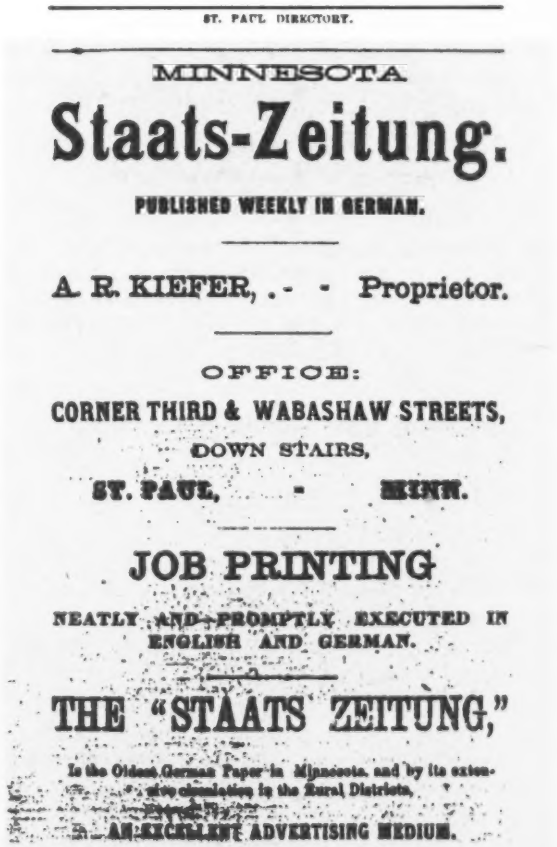
C.H. Lienau. This photograph is from a collection of portraits of members of the State Senate in 1875. Lienau, an antagonist of Thedor Muellenmeister, served as editor of the Minnesota *Volksblatt*. (Minnesota Historical Society)

line his program in a long front-page editorial on the power of the press already referred to.[57] He reasserts the Catholic character of *Der Wanderer* and joins his colleagues in proclaiming the value of the press as an antidote to reading secular publications. Religious news and features continue to hold a significant but not overriding place of honor in each issue.

Politics, however, seems to be the principal concern of Muellenmeister. Numerous articles and editorials concern themselves with analyses of the new Republican administration. Republican programs and policies and the President himself come in for vehement and universal condemnation, and the party is apostrohized as the "party of every 'ism' and every monopoly" and the party of privilege. The lines, he feels, are sharply drawn for battle, but he declares himself confident in the final outcome: "The struggle is between the mass of the people and the privileged classes and must sooner or later be resolved in favor of the former."[58]

Muellenmeister is careful to remind his readers too of their own self-interest as he vigorously promotes the Democratic cause. It is only the Democratic party that will fully serve them, for its opponents, he avers, in an article headlined: "Die Duenkel- und Dunkelmaenner" (Snobs and Obscurantists) threaten religious freedom and are insensitive to the rights of immigrants.[59]

Harsh anti-administration articles were written throughout Muellenmeister's tenure as editor. In his final issue he delivers this fulmination against the Republican ticket: "All the political Soothing-Syrup (Alles politische Soothing-Syrup) of the radical press will not be enough to bring back to health this poor little bloated child writhing with cramps." With typical Muellenmeister invective he lashes out bitterly at the *Minnesota Staatszeitung* for its political views: "The State-mama in her Tuesday three-legged monster has launched a senseless raid on the Ramsey County Democratic Convention." In this case, at least, there are personal reasons for his rage. In the *Staatszeitung* article in question the writer had made derogatory remarks about Muellenmeister, going so far, as the latter furiously declared, to transform his name to "Muhlenmister." But Muellenmeister is equal to the task and he can give better than he receives, not even eschewing jibes at his colleague's



ST. PAUL DIRECTORY.

MINNESOTA

Staats-Zeitung.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN GERMAN.

A. R. KIEFER, .- - Proprietor.

OFFICE:

CORNER THIRD & WABASHAW STREETS,

DOWN STAIRS,

ST. PAUL, - MINN.

JOB PRINTING

NEATLY AND PROMPTLY EXECUTED IN ENGLISH AND GERMAN.

THE "STAATS ZEITUNG,"

Is the Oldest German Paper in Minnesota, and by its extensive circulation in the Rural Districts,

AN EXCELLENT ADVERTISING MEDIUM.

The Minnesota *Staats-Zeitung*, the state's first German paper, carried on feuds with *Der Wanderer*. (Advertisement in the 1866 McLung's St. Paul Directory)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

command of their common language: "[The writer of the *Staatszeitung* article] is a hick German editor who commits rape on the German language in every one of his cackling pronouncements."[60]

ST. PAUL DIRECTORY.

Minnesota Volksblatt

(People's Journal,)

A Weekly German Newspaper,

PUBLISHED BY

C. H. LIENAU,

ST. PAUL, MINN.

This Paper has a

Much Larger Circulation

THAN ALL OTHER GERMAN PAPERS

Published and Circulating in this State

COMBINED.

Merchants and Advertisers Generally should make a note of this.

In the

JOB DEPARTMENT

Connected with the Paper all kinds of

JOB & BOOK WORK,

in the

English, German, French and Scandinavian Languages,

Are Done in the Best Style and at the

LOWEST RATES

The Minnesota *Volksblatt*, St. Paul's second and largest German newspaper, was the target of invective aimed at it by Theodor Muellenmeister of *Der Wanderer*, who also singled out Charles Lienau in his attacks. (McLung's 1866 St. Paul Directory)

Fassbind and the Foreign Scene

And then suddenly he is gone. With the next issue a new editor is proclaimed from the masthead, who proceeds like his predecessor to announce his program with nary a reference to his departing colleague. In a signed editorial "To the Reader," Franz Fassbind in reasserting the traditional objectives of *Der Wanderer* promises to continue offering a mix of ecclesiastical and secular news — local, national and international — as well as engaging tales of interest both to young and old. He invites non-Catholics too to become readers, for this is a way of tearing down prejudices. Politically, it will be the welfare of the people which is of highest value, and *Der Wanderer* will support all who share this ideal regardless of party.[61]

A new layout greeted the readers along with the new editor, and this served to underscore a change in focus. The entire front page and portions of the second were now devoted to foreign news, both ecclesiastical and secular. Instead of the many shorter news notes of the past the entire section contains what looks now more like a single cohesive essay. Date lines are avoided and each news item is written in a more flowing style with greater detail and longer paragraphs. The entire section, however, remains a potpourri of various, but now fewer, news stories.

The result is a better looking, better organized, and better written first page highlighting Fassbind's livelier interest in foreign news. The news is more substantive and for the most part is objectively reported. Political news is presented along side of events more directly involving the Church and its rights, and it is the latter which provoke the greater editorializing in the news stories.

The diplomatic maneuverings between the North German Confederation and the remaining German states, the disintegrating relations between Prussia and France, the rumblings caused by Italian nationalists confronting the Papal States, and the forthcoming First Vatican Council are international events of universal concern presented in great detail by the new editor to his readers.

Much information is provided, issues are carefully discussed, some stands will indeed be taken and those involving matters of Church and state will be predictable and forcefully represented, but a sensitivity to the readers and a willingness to let them form their own conclusions can be seen. An editorial marking the beginning of the fourth volume in the midst of the Franco-Prussian war makes Fassbind's point clear: he assures and reassures his readers that "we simply take people the way they are and understand well enough why, for example, the Luxemburger finds no satisfaction in the victories of the Prussians or why many a German Catholic views the current regime with some misgivings."[62]

Less Attention to National News

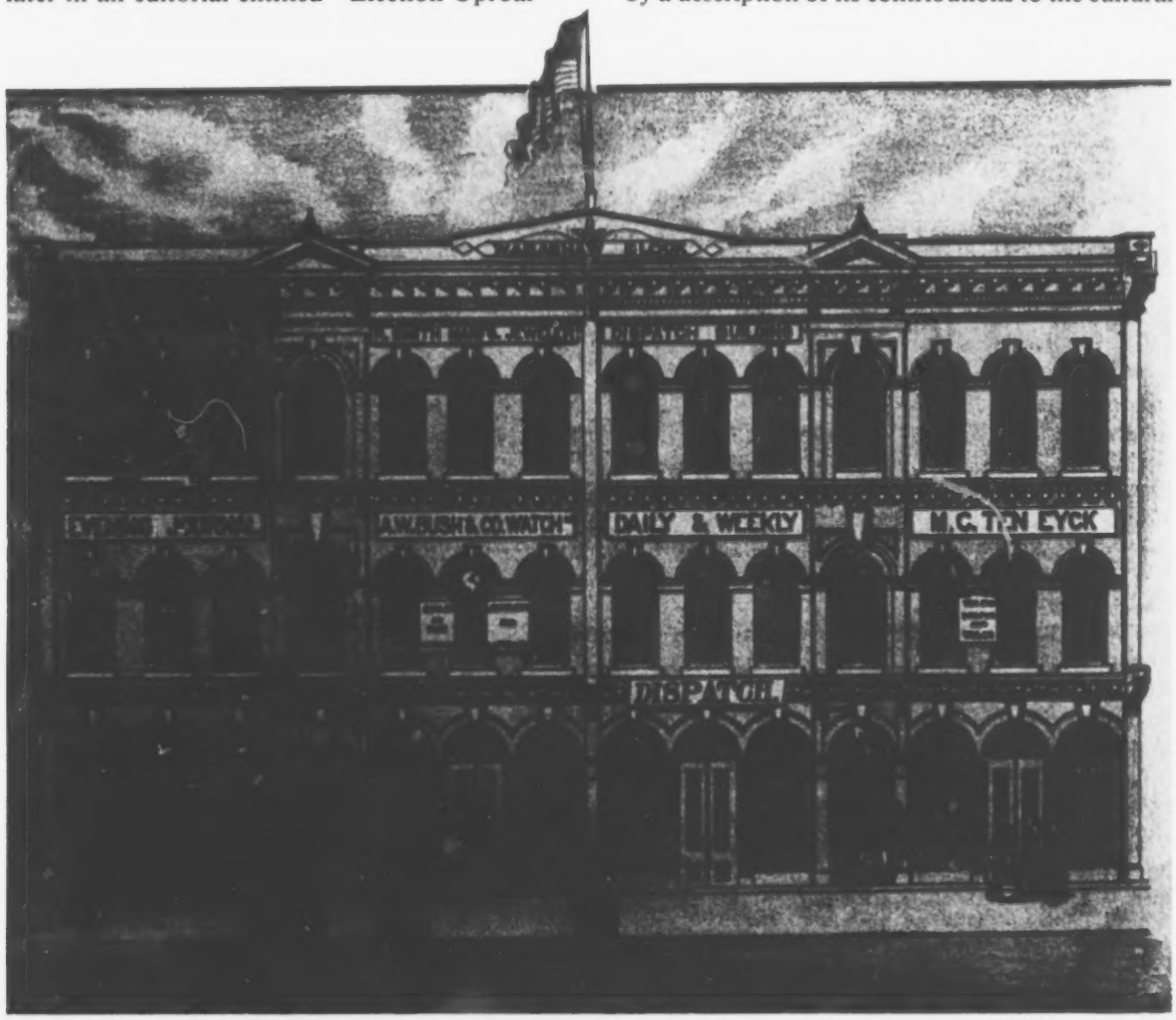
Considerably less attention is given to national politics, and Muellenmeister's impassioned and emotional tone is noticeably lacking. If all the editors up to this time, even Muellenmeister, have for the record expressed the formal political independence of *Der Wanderer,* Fassbind seems to do so more frequently. Of course, serving as editor for a longer period of time, he had more opportunity, such as in the first and last issues of a volume, to express this viewpoint. In view,

however, of the distinctly limited nature of national political news in the early issues and the overall moderation of the paper under his direction, more credence may be given to what he says. Thus, an editorial in the concluding number of volume two declares the paper's abhorrence of party intrigues and promises neutral treatment of issues: "Favoring no one, harming no one, this newspaper will discuss election campaign issues solely on the basis of an objective review of their merits."[63]

Similar statements can be found in later issues, including one of the rare signed editorials in the number closing the third volume to which the name of the president of the publishing company is also affixed.[64] Nonetheless, in taking political stands Fassbind will most generally favor the Democratic viewpoint. An article in his very first issue, for example, contains an appeal for good men, preferably Germans, to be nominated at the upcoming Democratic state convention. A month later in an editorial entitled "Election Uproar" he expresses concern at the impact of the campaign oratory of various splinter groups on the fortunes of the state Democratic party.[65]

Fassbind follows his predecessors in emphasizing the importance of the Catholic character of his paper and the vital role of the Catholic press in forming and informing his readers and guarding them from the insinuations of the secular press. An editorial at the beginning of the third volume is emphatic on the point when in the by now familiar phrases he declares his intention to write "for the instruction of the readers," helping them "resist all that the spirit of unbelief disseminates."[66]

Franz Fassbind is the first editor to have a long tenure as editor of *Der Wanderer,* serving in that function for fourteen years. Further to document the Fassbind editorship is not my intention here. I prefer rather to conclude this review of the first volumes with a brief evaluation of the paper's role as an organ for the dissemination of local news, by a description of its contributions to the cultural



Wabashaw Block with *Dispatch* Building, Fourth and Wabasha, 1874. *Der Wanderer's* offices were located in this building from 1874. (*Andreas Atlas* - Minnesota Historical Society)

life of its readers through the literary section, and finally by an examination of early *Der Wanderer* stands on the treatment of immigrants and issues of human rights.

There were daily papers in St. Paul when *Der Wanderer* began publishing. There was even a daily German newspaper.[67] Obviously, no weekly could compete in the dissemination of local news. Nonetheless, *Der Wanderer* was a functioning *news*paper also in this respect. The news may not have always been current, coverage was constrained by the limits of space, and news items were often very short. Yet, *Der Wanderer* on its local page (which sometimes spilled over to a second page) covered all the types of stories one would expect. Befitting its character, Catholic and German news are prominently featured. But news of a more general sort appeared also, ranging from political to social, from cultural to commercial, from police to climatological news. Each issue contained the local railroad schedules and market reports. City council and legislative proceedings were often recounted in detail. By the third volume lists of births, baptisms, deaths and marriages became a regular feature. And, of course, from the very first issue advertisements of all kinds were liberally sprinkled through the last half of each issue, covering the entire final page, except for a first column devoted to humor. It was a paper one could turn to for news.

The Literary Page

From the very beginning also each issue had a literary page bearing the heading *Feuilleton*. The customary end-of-volume recapitulations of the paper's objectives invariably included some reference to its intent to provide its readers with "good and attractively written stories for their entertainment."[68] This section appeared always on the fourth or fifth page of each number, and the section was usually carried over to the following page. There was always poetry and invariably a serialized novel or shorter piece of fiction, sometimes more than one running simultaneously. During a good portion of Muellenmeister's tenure an additional literary feature appeared. It was headed "Garland of Stories," was featured on the front page, and according to the announcement which proclaimed its imminent arrival was meant to provide "a suspense-filled and masterful story for young people."[69]

The type of literature produced in these pages reflected well the paper's twin objectives of providing entertainment and edification. Artistic merit was not the primary consideration, and, as a result, the classics and the best contemporary literature were generally not represented in the paper, whose readers, like most readers of the German-American press at the time, could not be expected to welcome serious problem literature.[70]

Der Wanderer's poetry in the early years was all but completely devoted to religious and liturgical themes. Many poems were not credited to author, and of those that were most were written by local poets and often by the clergy.[71] Some too like the "Song for Trinity Sunday," an acrostic spelling out the names of three founders of *Der Wanderer,* were contrived.[72] The secular poetry dealt mostly with themes of nature, but some were humorous, satirical and political.[73] The quality of all these poems, as one would expect, was mixed.

Only a few poems of the more noted German poets were included in the early years: one each by Angelus Silesius, Novalis, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, and Max von Schenkendorf. There were, however, some parodies of the classics like "On to Italy," a poem modelled on Goethe's "Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen bluehen?" but which this author uses to castigate Italy as a land of lawlessness and revolution.

The fiction serialized in *Der Wanderer* in the early years was largely devoted to tales of adventure and romance, often in an historical setting, and inevitably with an uplifting message. It was not literature of the first rank, but these melodramatic and didactic tales undoubtedly achieved their purpose of entertaining and edifying.

In the 19th century German-American editors had ready access to literature of all kinds, since a binding copyright agreement between Germany and the United States didn't exist prior to 1892.[74] What was actually printed then can be assumed to be what the editor believed his readers genuinely wanted. The taste of *Der Wanderer's* readers in this regard was likely not much different from that of readers of the German-American press generally, although Erich P. Hofacker's study of the German literature reprinted in the German-language daily papers of the St. Louis area shows a significantly greater attention to better known and more enduring authors in these publications than was true of the St. Paul paper.[75] What *Der Wanderer* did publish, however, was clearly popular since announcements of forthcoming serials were often given prominent display in the immediately preceding issues.

Novels and short prose in *Der Wanderer* usually appeared with the author's names given. They are all unread today, although most of them must have had some reputation in their own time. One author appearing in *Der Wanderer* literary pages was also an author of school readers which were highly praised in a later review where the

author was termed a well known *Volksschriftsteller.*[76] Another was also the author of a biography which happened to be found in this writer's college library.[77] None of the others were immediately recognized.

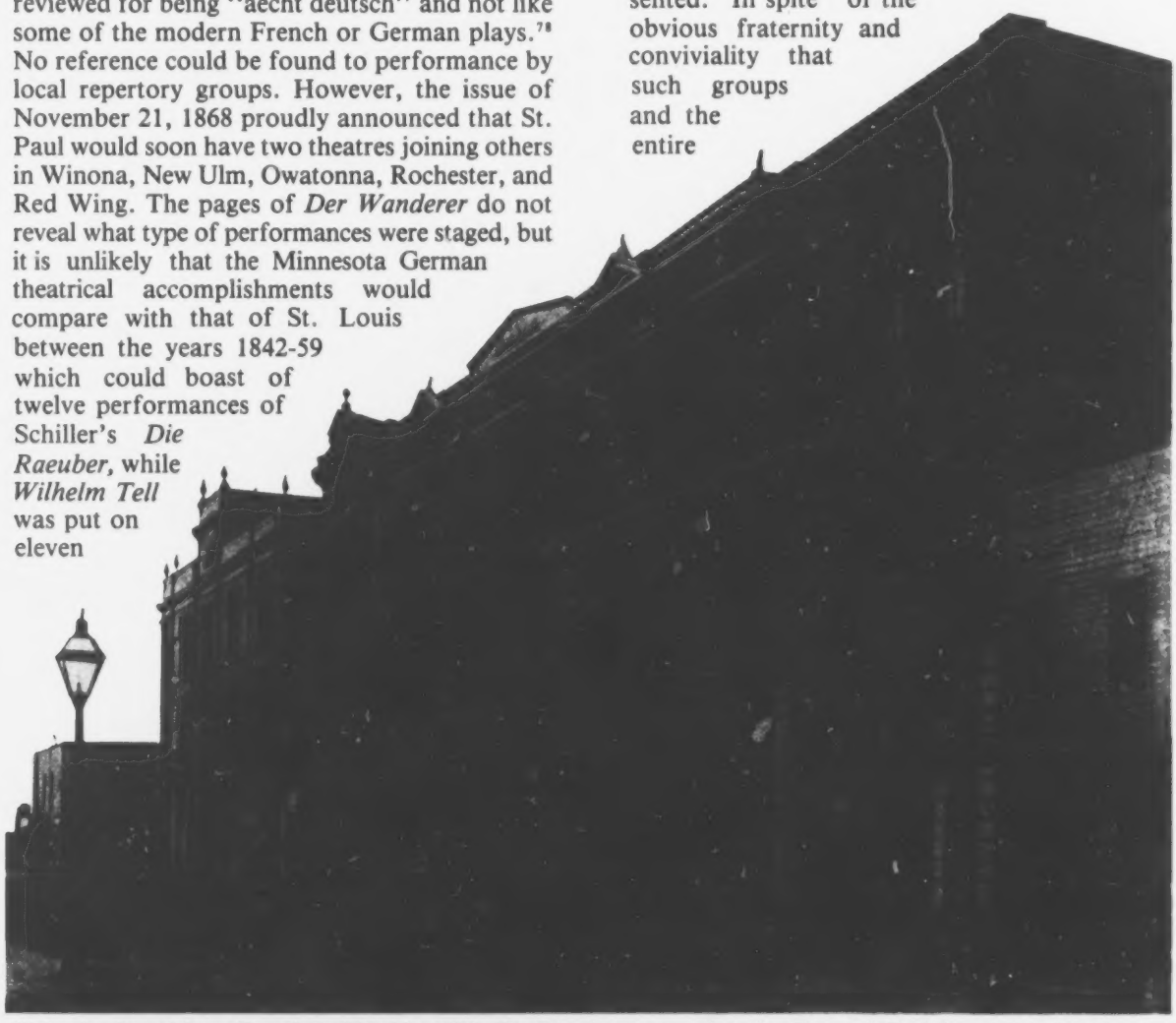
Musical, Theatrical Coverage

Book reviews and other references to the general literary scene were not frequent in the pages of *Der Wanderer.* Those that were found dealt almost exclusively with religious literature. On the other hand, local theatrical performances in German and especially musical choral organizations of which there were several German ones were enthusiastically supported.

Several performances by the visiting New York *Stadttheater* were advertised and positively reviewed for being "aecht deutsch" and not like some of the modern French or German plays.[78] No reference could be found to performance by local repertory groups. However, the issue of November 21, 1868 proudly announced that St. Paul would soon have two theatres joining others in Winona, New Ulm, Owatonna, Rochester, and Red Wing. The pages of *Der Wanderer* do not reveal what type of performances were staged, but it is unlikely that the Minnesota German theatrical accomplishments would compare with that of St. Louis between the years 1842-59 which could boast of twelve performances of Schiller's *Die Raeuber,* while *Wilhelm Tell* was put on eleven times, *Kabale und Liebe* nine times, *Wallensteins Tod* three times and *Maria Stuart* once.[79]

The world of music was somewhat more accessible to the readers of *Der Wanderer.* There are occasional references to the classical composers; piano and orchestral recitals are arranged; and an organ recital at the St. Paul Cathedral is promoted with the wry comment that it is the task of the Germans to teach Americans music.[80]

Primary attention, however, was given to the several choral groups found in St. Paul and surrounding communities. An evident delight was found in promoting and participating in these organizations. Editor Muellenmeister himself was at one time president of a local Men's Chorus. As interest grew a state federation of such singing groups was established, and *Der Wanderer* in the summer of 1869 recorded the activities of the fifth Minnesota State Singing Festival at which five local societies were represented. In spite of the obvious fraternity and conviviality that such groups and the entire



Wabasha Street from Fourth to Third in 1873. *Der Wanderer* moved to the *Dispatch* Building at this location in 1874. The *Dispatch* Building can be seen just in front of the sidewalk ice-cream sign. (Illingworth photo, Minnesota Historical Society)

The Great Western Band of St. Paul (c. 1868), performing at some festivity. The first musician on the left is Michael Esch. (Illingworth photo, Minnesota Historical Society)

association engendered traditional German formality was not abandoned, as the business meeting abrogated a resolution of the previous year which had encouraged members to address one another with the familiar "du."[11]

Immigration Concerns Important

We turn now to two topics which occupied the attention of the early editors: immigration policy and human rights.

Public policy towards immigrant groups and especially Germans was of obviously great interest to the editors and the readers of *Der Wanderer*. Things were often difficult for the new arrivals. Conditions aboard ship where overcrowding was the rule were primitive at best. Upon disembarking in New York and presumably other cities immigrants frequently fell prey to skillful swindlers. Stories in *Der Wanderer* related such incidents, and others sought to keep readers abreast of the progress of various immigration treaties being negotiated between Prussia, Bavaria, and England.

Under Erhardt and particularly under Muellenmeister *Der Wanderer* became a highly vocal critic of those who would discriminate against ethnic Americans. The Republicans, who were generally perceived as blatantly nativist in their policies came in for repeated vilification. Even words of apparent support were suspect as being but the cloak for exploitation. In an

Michael Esch was a member and co-founder of the St. Paul Musical Society for which this portrait was made. The concerts of this group were often advertised and glowingly reviewed in the pages of *Der Wanderer*. "Papa Esch," as he was often affectionately called by the paper, was a member and occasionally officer of the German Catholic Printing Company. He was also elected treasurer in 1870. Esch died in 1873 at the age of 37. (Zimmerman photo, Minnesota Historical Society)

editorial entitled "Knownothingistische Katzenfreundlichkeit" Muellenmeister in characteristic style lashes out at Republican policy, particularly as expressed in the *St. Paul Press,* which he claims is making it harder for immigrants to be naturalized by requiring knowledge of English. Seeing not only a plot but a ploy to maintain political supremacy he claims such policy is based on a desire to quell competition from Germans, who, he says, possess intellectual qualities superior in every respect to the Yankees and whose farmers and merchants offer powerful competition.[82] A later editorial suggests that immigrants are welcomed by "radicals" only if they are passive and pliable and yield to the Yankees in all things.[83] Even fellow Democrats are not spared his tongue lashings. In his last issue he attacks the Democrats in the neighboring and strongly German state of Wisconsin for including so few German office seekers on its ticket. As a result, he declares, it "deserves to be thoroughly defeated."[84]

Der Wanderer from the beginning was a strong supporter of the National Federation of German Organizations (Central-Verein) particularly because that organization was deeply involved in safeguarding the rights of the immigrants.[85] For the same reason, a Minnesota Immigration Society received editorial support with the typical Muellenmeister comment that pseudo-Germans, "who in their language and attitude show themselves to be more Yankees than anything else" were not welcome.[86]

This same editor took strong issue with the wording of the proposed Fifteenth Amendment because in his mind the rights of the immigrant were not sufficiently considered. He lamented the fact that this amendment prevents a state from restricting the voting rights of Negroes while it says nothing about the civil rights of naturalized citizens. As long as the states have the prerogative of restricting the franchise by criteria such as length of residence and years of schooling the rights of recent arrivals to this country become an illusion. He advocated rejecting the Amendment unless the word "nativity" were inserted among the prohibited grounds for restricting the right to vote.[87]

Issues of Human Rights

Recent German immigrants were not, however, the only oppressed minorities in the country. In the post-Civil War period the overriding issue was treatment of the Blacks in American society. Like many of their compatriots, Minnesota Catholic Germans were not conspicuous for their advocacy of the rights of the American Negro. In fact, the contrary was unfortunately more likely to be true.

Policies to promote civil rights for Negroes are as severely questioned in the pages of *Der Wanderer* as those defending the rights of immigrants are praised. And sometimes the frustrations underlying the two attitudes are joined together. It is precisely in the context of a society whose nativist practices posed severe obstacles to the industrious, capable, and deserving immigrant that a policy which seemed to provide everything for the southern Blacks, who were seen to be largely ill prepared for these responsibilities, is roundly attacked. At the same time the admittedly extreme measures instituted by Republican Reconstruction policies so enraged Democratic opponents that even necessary and legitimate reforms were questioned.

There is much that can be explained or possibly even excused in the attitude of *Der Wanderer's* editors (Ehrhardt and Muellenmeister in this case) toward Blacks. Yet in the language used and in the vehemence of the attitudes expressed, a real insensitivity to the plight of black fellow Americans was demonstrated. An abundance of scurrilous and demeaning references to Blacks can be documented, but they need not be dredged up here.[88]

Some of the bitterness in these anti-Black statements is undoubtedly traceable to the indignation felt at what seemed to be Republican hypocrisy in this whole matter. Republicans were accused of exploiting the Black issue for their own political ends, imposing an unwanted social revolution on Southern whites while blatantly refusing to end discrimination in northern states. When a Negro from Louisiana, elected to the House of Representatives, was ultimately denied admission by the Republican Congress, Muellenmeister exploded and confidently and perceptively forecast: "Just a few more stabs in the back like that — remember this prediction — and the Blacks will sooner rather than later dig the grave of the Republican party."[89]

Yet these editors were not completely blind to what the Blacks needed. Though they failed to perceive the overriding necessity of safeguarding civil rights for all people, they seemed to recognize the equal importance of economic betterment and improved education. Of course, like so many of their northern compatriots they rejected governmental intervention and enforced integration to achieve these goals.

And their support was muted at best. A little jingle obviously is almost insultingly meaningless and certainly no substitute for a carefully considered program earnestly proposed and staunchly defended, yet Muellenmeister did on

one occasion use such means to remind Grant in the campaign of 1868 that his civil rights policies were exploitative and inflammatory and offered nothing in the way of economic improvement to impoverished Negroes. The October 3 issue of *Der Wanderer* contained this bit of electioneering verse which though obviously politically motivated and maliciously worded might be taken as demonstrating some recognition of key issues.

Can there be freedom in a land
Where pressed into the black man's hand
Instead of bread there is a stone
Just so a Grant can mount the throne?[90]

A short time later a reasoned and substantive piece on the same issue affirmed that those who really wanted to help the Blacks would, as a recent Catholic Council of Baltimore had suggested, support the construction and maintenance of black orphanages and schools, so that the young might be trained and better enabled to improve themselves. Though this betrayed at best reliance on some separate but equal philosophy and reflected continuing scorn at the efforts of northern liberals to achieve reform in the South there is at least some indication here of an attempt to address the human rights issue.

Treatment of Indians, Jews

Nonetheless, the record of *Der Wanderer* on civil rights for the Blacks can not be termed anything but political and racist, a fault which, to be sure, is shared with a great many others at the time. The record on Indians, Jews, and women is unfortunately no different.

It is surprising in view of the proximity to the problem that only one reference to Indian policy was discovered in these early issues. In this instance criticism was levelled at the national administration for constant occurrences of fraud and deception in the acquisition of Indian territories which not only victimized the native Americans

Northwest Corner of Third and Wabasha, 1887, in the general vicinity of *Der Wanderer's* offices. (Arthur C. Warner photo, Minnesota Historical Society)

View of St. Paul in the 1870's looking down Third Street from Dayton's Bluff, where J.N. Schröder, first publisher of *Der Wanderer*, resided. From 1873-1874 the paper was located at 125 3rd Street between Minnesota and Robert. (C.A. Zimmerman photograph, Minnesota Historical Society)

and benefited the rapacious land speculators, but also, and it seems more importantly, infringed on the rights of the general public to use such lands.[91]

Little notice is taken in the pages of *Der Wanderer* of anti-Semitism in the United States. However, there are enough caustic references to the evil "Jewish press" in Europe to suspect the presence of a Jew-baiting strain on the part of editor and reader. These innuendoes are invariably elicited in reaction to what is perceived as anti-Catholic agitation and bigoted determination to reduce the power and wealth of the Catholic Church. Thus, a news note in the July 30, 1869 issue recalling the 200th anniversary of the expulsion of Jews from Vienna by Leopold I and observing that the city now has a Jewish population of 100,000 concludes by repeating with approval the sarcastic comment of the Vienna *Tagesblatt:* "Now we've come to the point where we'll keep the Jews but we are bound to get rid of the monasteries."[92]

It is certainly not pleasant to recall such expressions of bigotry. The frequency of such vile comments and judgments on groups of other human beings is not, to be sure, great, but equally unsettling is the all but complete absence of any awareness of the presence of a problem in human relations of immense magnitude. Editors and readers were undoubtedly distracted from this awareness by their own difficult experiences with bigotry and discrimination. Nonetheless, one gets the impression that defamatory statements such as these tripped readily from the tongue. That such phrases were to be expected in the social climate of the times and the hurly-burly of 19th-century journalism and that they were by no means unique to St. Paul's German Catholics is, to be sure, accurate but no less regrettable for all that.

Women's Rights Record

On the matter of women's rights too *Der Wanderer,* not surprisingly, has no record to be proud of. Efforts of women to gain the vote, hold public office, or improve their career aspirations were met in these pages by amused scorn, firm dissent, or simple lack of notice — a record which was shared with the bulk of the German-American press.[93] A few examples from the politically most engaged Muellenmeister will suffice to show that the newspaper expressed sentiments and arguments that continue to be well known today. Women's suffrage is rejected, for example, since the right to vote implies the responsibility to participate when necessary in the military defense

of the country. In another issue the editor defends the basis in law for special treatment of women as but the necessary result of biological difference between men and women. Women should be guarded, it is said elsewhere, from entering professions which pose a threat to their femininity. And finally, a news item recounting some gains made by women in the area of civil rights carries the scornful headline: "Civilization Takes Giant Strides." On the other hand, a Fassbind article similarly recounting some feminist victories manifests more objective reporting with a cautious wait and see attitude.[94] This augurs some hope for a sober, more supportive stand in the future.

Nothing, it is said, is as old as yesterday's newspaper. What then can be predicated of the paper of last century? There are, therefore, risks in seeking to recreate even in some small way the spirit of a past journalistic venture by liberally quoting at such a chronological distance the comments of writers who were reacting, sometimes in the heat of controversy, to the transitory circumstances of their own time and who themselves were consciously writing only for the day. To generalize on the basis of utterances made over an extended period is equally risky. The risks, nonetheless, are worth taking, for if in the process one can take some measure of the life of a group of people with their conflicts, fears and aspirations as reflected in their newspaper something of value may have been gained. To be sure, one may learn more about the writers in such a process than about the readers. Nonetheless, newspapers ultimately reflect the views of the majority of their readership. Any changes in editorial policy will therefore not only manifest changes at the management level but, since a commercial paper must keep subscribers and attract advertisers, it must indicate judgments about the basic attitudes of the readers for whom the paper is designed.

The sudden, unexplained departures of Ehrhardt and Muellenmeister may therefore suggest that their editorial policies and the greater vehemence with which they were enunciated were not in ultimate accord with the owners and by implication with most of the readers. On the other hand, that they were given the chance to emerge is expressive of the vitality and exuberance of that group of Germans and Americans for whom the paper was published.

Der Wanderer in the first years was, it seems to me, a lively forum. Though the readership in that time never topped 3,000 one can speculate that the Germans in St. Paul and elsewhere in Minnesota were also a vibrant and intense community. Their newspaper, at least, gave them things to talk about.

Frank Breuer in fireman's uniform. Breuer, a chief engineer for the fire department, was a member of the German Catholic Printing Company, publisher of *Der Wanderer*, and for a while the president of the Company. (Minnesota Historical Society)

John Kulas has been a member of the German Department of St. John's University since 1959. He has an M.A. in German Literature from George Washington University, Washington, D.C. Kulas is currently working on a far-reaching study of *Der Wanderer* and its readers which will be submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the University of Minnesota. He is a member of St. John's Abbey in Collegeville.

Notes

[1]This 1947 quotation is found in Karl J.R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955. History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer Publishers, 1961), p. 8.

[2]Daniel S.B. Johnston, "Minnesota Journalism from 1858 to 1865," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society,* vol. 12 (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1908), p. 183. That *Der Wanderer* was conscious of such an exalted role is clear from the *Prospektus* appearing in its first issue. "It is a generally recognized and well established truth that an efficiently managed press is better able than any other means to educate a people." *Der Wanderer,* 16 November 1867. (Translation from the German here as elsewhere in this paper is by the author.)

[3]*Wanderer,* 8 January 1931.

[4]Johnston, p. 246.

[5]Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922), p. 7. See also Carl Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1957), p. 8.

[6]Park p. 310. The German periodical press reached its zenith in 1893-4 when 796 publications were reported. In the same year all other foreign-language journals numbered 374 (32%). From this time on German periodicals as a proportion of the entire foreign-language press declined.

[7]Donald Tolzmann, *"The German Language Press in Minnesota, 1855 to 1955," German-American Studies* 5 (1972): 169-70. Adolf E. Zucker, ed. *The Forty-Eighters. Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), pp. 46, 355-56.

[8]Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States,* 2 vols. (New York: The Steuben Society of America, 1927), 2:369. See also Karl J.R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas,* 2 vols. 3d ed. rev. and enl. by an appendix (Pullach near Munich: Verlag Dokumentation, 1973-76), vol. 2 *Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, etc.,* p. 369 and especially Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution. The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), pp. 262-75.

[9]Curiously, one of the men who helped in founding *Der Wanderer* was also associated with the political unrest of the 1840's but on the conservative side. Rev. Clemens Staub, pastor of St. Paul's German parish and influential promoter of this journal, had as a young man in his native Switzerland seen military action in the armies of the *Sonderbund,* an alliance of Catholic cantons, who banded together to resist the liberal, anti-clerical activities of the central federation. After the defeat of the *Sonderbund,* in 1847 Staub fled his homeland and came to the United States where he became a Benedictine priest. See Ryan Perkins, "Portrait of a Pioneer Monk: Clement Staub, O.S.B.," *The Scriptorium* (Unpublished series at St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota) 22 (11 July, 1980): 33-35.

[10]George S. Hage, *Newspapers on the Minnesota Frontier 1849-1860* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1967), p. ix.

[11]*Northwestern Chronicle,* 30 November 1867.

[12]See "A Journey's End," *Wanderer,* 11 July 1957.

[13]The author (P.P.M.) is Pater Magnus Mayr of Chaska, Minnesota as revealed in "Plapper-Raisonnir- und Debattir-Kämmerchen," *Der Wanderer,* 23 November 1867.

[14]"All His People are Wanderers," *Wanderer,* 26 October 1967.

[15]Already within the first volume Father Clemens is referred to as "Vater des *Wanderers*." *Der Wanderer,* 5 September 1868. See also the comments on the foundation of the paper in *Der Wanderer,* 20 September 1917 and *Wanderer,* 11 July 1957. Reference to the financial support of St. John's Abbey is found among the papers of Rev. Alexius Hoffman, Abbey chronicler and historian, preserved in the archives of St. John's Abbey.

The Deutsche Katholische Druck-Gesellschaft, long time publisher of *Der Wanderer* was incorporated in May 1868. Signatories were Rev. Clemens Staub, Mr. John N. Schröder, who up to that point had been listed as publisher, and Mr. Henry H. Timme. (*Der Wanderer,* 23 May 1868.) The paper of 8 August 1868 listed as first permanent officers Jakob Simmer, Joh. Nik. Schröder, and H.H. Timme. Elections to the Board of Directors took place each August and were faithfully reported in *Der Wanderer.* Father Clemens served as president from 1869 to 1876. In 1870 Fr. Fassbind, who was serving as editor, was elected as secretary of the corporation and was annually reelected. In May 1878 the corporation was sold to H.H. Timme, Frank Breuer, Nic. Bures, H.H. Müller, Jas. Elles, and Fr. Fassbind, most of whom had previously served on the board. (*Der Wanderer,* 11 May 1878.)

[16]"All His People are Wanderers," *Wanderer,* 26 October 1967 and "A Journey's End," *Wanderer,* 11 July 1957.

[17]See "Jubilee," *Der Wanderer,* 20 September 1917 and "All His People are Wanderers," *Wanderer,* 26 October 1967. McClung's *St. Paul City Directory* for 1866 lists H.H. Timme as a grocer. p. 86.

[18]See Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration 1816-1885* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 165 and Erich P. Hofacker, *German Literature as Reflected in the German-Language Press of St. Louis Prior to 1898 (St. Louis: Washington University Press, 1946),* pp. 1-2.

[19]Selected circulation figures may be found in Eugene P. Willigang and Herta Hatzfield, *Catholic Serials of the Nineteenth Century in the United States. A Descriptive Bibliography and Union List.* Second Series, Part One: *Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1959), p. 48 and Arndt, *German American Newspapers,* pp. 231-32.

[20]J. Fletcher Williams, "Outline of the History of Minnesota," in *History of Ramsey County and the City of St. Paul* (Minneapolis: North Star Publishing Company, 1881), p. 361.

[21]The journal hoped also to attract non-Catholic readers. In a letter to his superior at St. John's just six weeks before *Der Wanderer's* appearance and written interestingly enough on the back of a bill from the *Northwestern Chronicle,* "The only representative Catholic Journal in the Northwest," Clemens Staub revealed the warm support that Abbot Boniface Wimmer of St. Vincent Abbey in Pennsylvania had given to the new venture. Abbot Wimmer had also suggested that the St. Paul paper model itself on the *Pittsburgh Republikaner* so that, in Wimmer's words, the paper would be read also by Protestants and lukewarm Catholics. (See file for Clemens Staub in St. John's Abbey Archives, Collegeville, Minnesota.) The *Pittsburgh Republikaner* established in 1854 as a Democratic daily "of Roman Catholic interest," carried the subtitle "Ein demokratisches Organ für Wahrheit, Recht und Gemeinwohl." See Arndt, *German-American Newspapers,* p. 583. Wimmer's advice was essentially followed. Both Muellenmeister and Fassbind in the first issues under their tenure appealed to a readership beyond the Catholic community

[22]*Der Wanderer,* 9 November 1872.

[23]Found in most issues from 2 May to 29 August 1868.

[24]*Der Wanderer,* 10 October 1868.

[25]See for example, "The Ant as Emigrant," *Der Wanderer,* 29 August 1868.

[26]*Ibid.*, 28 March 1868.

[27]*Ibid.*, 13 June 1868 and 20 June 1868.

[28]"The Attitude of the Catholic Church in the United States to Politics." *Der Wanderer,* 3 October 1868.

[29]"Freedom of Association — the Modern State," *Der Wanderer,* 11 September 1869.

[30]"Bible Prohibitions," *Ibid.*, 17 October 1868.

[31]*Ibid.*, 7 November 1868.

[32]"Spain and the Scribblers," *Ibid.*, 28 November 1868.

[33]*Ibid.*, 5 September 1868 and 26 September 1868.

[34]*Ibid.*, 14 November 1868.

[35]*Ibid.*, 30 January 1869.

[36]On this topic see Faust, 2:365.

[37]*Der Wanderer,* 9 January 1869.

[38]*Wanderer,* 8 January 1931.

[39]See, for example, *Der Wanderer,* 16 January 1869.

[40]*Ibid.*, 19 September 1868.

[41]*Ibid.*, 26 December 1868. An excerpt may be of some interest: "North America has been destined by providence or natural law to be the promised land for the German people. The heart of North America is German patrimony, and in the future the German language, German customs, and German industriousness will prevail from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

[42]*Ibid.*, 14 June 1899.

[43]See Arndt, *The German Language Press,* vol. 1: *History and Bibliography 1732-1968: United States of America,* pp. 231-32 where neither the list of editors nor the dates of tenure correspond exactly to the information contained in the newspaper itself. Willigang, pp. 46-47 has almost completely correct information, but the dates for the second named editor are slightly in error.

[44]*Wanderer,* 8 January 1931.

[45]Edwin H. Ford, "Southern Minnesota Pioneer Journalism. A Study of Four Newspapers of the 1850's," *Minnesota History* 27 (March 1946): 9-10. See also Wittke, *German Language Press,* p. 197.

[46]Maximilian Oertel, who in 1846 established the *Katholische Kirchenzeitung* in Baltimore, had a column known as the *Plauderstüebchen,* which conceivably served as a model for Ehrhardt. See Wittke, *German Language Press,* pp. 178-79.

[47]*Der Wanderer,* 25 April 1868.

[48]*Ibid.*, 2 May 1868.

[49]Arndt, *German Language Press,* 1:232. Williganq, p. 46. The latter affirms that Staub signed some editorials along with Ehrhardt in the first year. While no evidence for this can be found, it is true that some of the first issues contained a signed front-page statement by Staub encouraging support of the new publication. He is speaking, however, as pastor of the local German parish and not as editor. Much later, the issue of 5 November 1870, concluding the third volume, contains a statement that is signed by both Staub and editor Franz Fassbind. Staub is by that time president of the corporation and Fassbind is secretary.

On the other hand, St. John's Abbey chronicler, Alexius Hoffman, flatly dismisses the suggestion that Father Clemens or any other Benedictine priest ever wrote for *Der Wanderer.* (Alexius Hoffman papers, St. John's Abbey Archives.) Elsewhere among his manuscript comments on Staub, Hoffmann declares: "He left nothing in scriptis (writing) — if he did it was lost or destroyed. He was not given to writing — nor even to reading much beyond the weekly newspaper and medical works." (Perkins, p. 33.) These comments would seem to refute any suggestion that Staub functioned as editor.

[50]*Der Wanderer,* 5 September 1868.

[51]*Ibid.,* 3 October 1868.

[52]*Ibid.,* 19 September 1868.

[53]*Ibid.,* 26 September and 3 October 1868.

[54]*Ibid.,* 3 October and 17 October 1868.

[55]*Ibid.,* 24 October 1868.

[56]See, for example, "The Founding of Christianity and the Rise of Civilization," (10 October 1868), "Our Inner Spirit Reflects in Miniature the Church as a Whole," (17 October 1868), "The Christian View of Life and its Implications" (26 September 1868).

[57]See p. 70 above.

[58]*Der Wanderer,* 26 December and 28 November 1868.

[59]*Ibid.,* 19 December 1868.

[60]*Ibid.,* 11 September 1869.

[61]*Ibid.,* 18 September 1869.

[62]*Ibid.,* 12 November 1870.

[63]*Ibid.,* 6 November 1869.

[64]*Ibid.,* 5 November 1870.

[65]*Ibid.,* 18 September and 9 October 1869.

[66]*Ibid.,* 13 November 1869.

[67]*Das Minnesota Volksblatt,* founded in 1861, became a daily on 9 October 1866. See Johnston, p. 262.

[68]*Der Wanderer,* 13 November 1869.

[69]*Ibid.,* 6 March 1869. The section appeared on the front page until 21 August of that year when it was discontinued.

[70]See Wittke, *German Language Press,* p. 228. 94

[71]One of *Der Wanderer's* poets, Rev. Ferdinand Hundt from New Alsace, Indiana is reviewed in Johannes Rothensteiner, *Die Literarische Wirksamkeit der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Katholiken* (St. Louis: Amerika, 1922), p. 23.

[72]*Der Wanderer,* 6 June 1868. The three men named are C. Staub, H.H. Timme, and J.N. Schröder. See also "Tele, Graf von Weitinsland." *Der Wanderer,* 19 December 1868.

[73]During his stint as editor Theodor Muellenmeister contributed a number of poems attacking U.S. Grant.

[74]Hofacker, p. 107.

[75]*Ibid.,* pp. 1-2. This author decided not to include the St. Louis *Amerika,* the largest German American Catholic daily, in this study because its fiction appeared in an adapted version only without mention of the original author. p. 8.

[76]*Der Wanderer,* 3 August 1872. *Change of Fortune,* by Wilhelm Herchenbach was serialized in the paper in fourteen installments beginning with the issue of 2 October 1869.

[77]J.M. Hägele's *The Backslider* was serialized in fourteen installments from 12 December 1868 to 13 March 1869. He also produced a biography of Alban Stolz, Catholic theologian and popular writer.

[78]*Der Wanderer,* 12 September 1868.

[79]Hofacker, p. 38.

[80]*Der Wanderer,* 12 September 1868.

[81]*Ibid.,* 3 July 1869.

[82]*Ibid.,* 27 February 1869.

[83]*Ibid.,* 3 July 1869.

[84]*Ibid.,* 11 September 1869.

[85]See Philip Gleason, *The Conservative Reformers. German-American Catholics and the Social Order* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), p. 26. Also *Der Wanderer,* 11 July 1868, 29 August 1868, 3 October 1868.

[86]*Der Wanderer,* 16 January 1869.

[87]*Ibid.,* 13 March 1869.

[88]For an example under Ehrhardt see *Ibid.,* 1 February 1868 where the editor in vulgar terms bitterly criticizes Grant's proposals for being "for Niggers and always for Niggers." In reporting the admittance of three Blacks to a southern bar Muellenmeister crudely comments: "Sambo makes good." *Ibid.,* 26 September 1868.

[89]*Ibid.,* 30 January 1869 and 24 October 1868.

[90]The German is
Was ist der Union freies Land?
Wo man dem Neger in die Hand
Ein Stein gar statt des Brotes reicht
Damit ein Grant den Thron besteigt.

[91]This sentiment from *Der Wanderer's* second volume, while positive in its concern for the Indian, seems more indignant at subsequent restrictions placed on white settlements in the region.

[92]See also *Der Wanderer,* 21 March 1868, 25 April 1868, 11 September 1869, 18 September 1869.

[93]Wittke, *German Language Press,* p. 162.

[94]See *Der Wanderer,* 30 January 1869, 6 March 1869 (If human beings, says the editor, "came into existence through a chemical process like homunculi in Goethe's *Faust*," then there might be some basis for demanding totally equal rights for women.), 13 February 1869, 16 January 1869, and 1 January 1870.

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97

German-American Banking in Minnesota

by LaVern J. Rippley

The history of an immigrant group in a capitalistic society cannot be fully understood without reference to the financial institutions that grease the wheels of social exchange, production, the uses of resources, economic development, in short, of the fundamental needs of life — food, shelter and clothing. Economics, that is to say, the management of the affairs of a community, is a broad concept. The economy includes the forces of supply and demand, the underlying process of communal interaction, the system by which individuals interact with each other to satisfy their needs, as well as the needs of their organized selves. The financial institutions, on the other hand, are the less sweeping internal networks of an economy. They facilitate the flow of an economy. In general, financial institutions develop in response to demands of an economy. Examples are banks, insurance companies, mutual help organizations, cooperatives, corporations, government-owned industries, state-controlled utilities, and many other institutions, all of which emerge through the ingenuity of members in a society as the economy of that society waxes and wanes.

Recently several national journals have mentioned that the Germans today constitute the largest ethnic element in the United States, 28% according to the Federal census of 1980.[1] That so many Germans settled in the United States is accounted for by the weak German economy. The economy of Germany between the Napoleonic Wars and the founding of the German Empire in 1871 effectively impelled mass departures.[2]

Although we now take for granted this large German element in the U.S., not nearly as many Americans are cognizant of the powerful influence a German economist wielded in making the American economy the gigantic magnetic attraction that it became between 1840 and 1900. This was the period when the flow of immigrants from Germany to the U.S. was greatest. I refer to Georg Friedrich List, who was born in the free imperial city of Reutlingen in Wurttemberg, the youngest son of a tanner, Johannes List, on August 6, 1789. He died on November 30, 1846 by his own hand, when he failed on a visit to England that year to bring about the economic advances between England and Germany that he had achieved earlier between Germany and the United States. His many books, among them *Outlines of American Political Economy* (1827), have earned for him accolades from such standard works as the *Dictionary of American Biography*, "In American tariff history, he was, next to Alexander Hamilton, the most constructive among the early advocates of protection."[3] A professor at the University of Tübingen, List was the first in Germany to call for the abolition of internal duties and the establishment of a German Customs Union *(Zollverein)*. In 1819, however, after being elected to the Diet of Württemberg, his ideas on economic reform incurred the suspicion of the local government as a result of which he was arrested and indicted for sedition. Eluding a prison sentence by flight, he traveled to England but returned to Germany in 1824 only to be again taken into custody. He was released only on the condition that he leave the country. With his wife and four children he arrived in New York on June 10, 1825. Settling in Pennsylvania, List founded the Philadelphia and Reading Railway, which served later as a model for the German railways as described in his books *Eisenbahn-Journal* (1835) and *Über ein sächsisches Eisenbahn-System* (1833).

More than List's contribution to transportation and the development of Pennsylvania Anthracite Coal, however, was his insistence to Congress and the Jackson administration that there be interdependence of trade, that the U.S. economy had to free itself from England's domination, and that the youthful U.S. democracy had to attract foreign capital and technology through protective duties and immigration.[4] England, in List's time, was known as "the workshop of the world," enjoying a clear monopoly in the American market for the most important manufactured products. Correctly, List forecasted that with

the aid of his theories of economics the United States would achieve not only financial but also political power and that England, then at the height of her influence on the world, would lose status rapidly after 1900.

Appointed U.S. Consul

As a naturalized American citizen, List in 1831 was appointed by President Jackson to serve as United States Consul to Hamburg. Although he failed to get confirmation from the Senate, he was subsequently confirmed for the consulate at Baden. From 1834-37 he was U.S. Consul at Leipzig and from 1843-45 at Stuttgart, after which he returned permanently to Germany in hopes of implementing plans for a German railway system. He also intended to promote not just a Customs Union but eventually a European Common Market, a concept which did not materialize until a century after his ill-timed death. The political power that accrued to the Common Market and the revived West German state following World War II was achieved in part by applying the principles List delineated for the United States in the Jacksonian period. This thesis, articulated in his book *National System of Political Economy* (1841), argued that economic power imputes political power. List's principle applied to the United States during its period of heaviest immigration — from 1840-1940. It was also applicable to the whole of Europe, and in particular West Germany, following 1871 and after 1945, a topic which I treated in our Minneapolis conference in April 1981.[5]

As mentioned, the German-Americans in 1983 constituted the largest ethnic element in the United States. They also were the largest group within the state of Minnesota. During the second half of the 19th century and for most of the period from 1923-1963, annual arrivals from Germany outnumbered those from any other single country.[6] On a percentage basis, Germans arriving in the United States between 1850 and 1900, the period when the majority of Minnesota's Germans arrived, never numbered less than 25% of all the foreign born in the United States. Between 1880 and 1920 they constituted the largest single element among first-generation immigrants, though their actual numbers peaked in 1890. Together with second generation Germans in the United States, they amounted to over 10% of the total U.S. population in 1900.

During these years, Germans in greater numbers than any other group chose to settle in Minnesota, the most impressive increases occurring between the years 1880 and 1885. At the turn of the century, 116,973 German-born individuals populated large areas of Minnesota, making the Germans the leading nationality in the state. In the state census of 1905, however, they dropped to second place behind the Swedes. Suffice it to say that in both 1880 and again in 1905, for which years a precise calculation was made for the project of the Minnesota Historical Society entitled *They Chose Minnesota,* the Germans constituted up to 100% of the population in many townships. In 1880 there were at least 18 such 100% German townships and countless others with from 50% to 75% of the total population, whereas even in 1905 the German-born still amounted to a statistical 100% of the total population in eight townships.

In the last century most of the currency was issued by banks, not the U.S. government. This $10 bill was issued by St. Paul's National German American Bank. (Courtesy Steven Schroeder)

This engraving published in the *Northwest Magazine* in July, 1890 shows the Germania Life Insurance Building in St. Paul. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Migrated for Economic Reasons

Here it should be pointed out that when the Germans were peopling Minnesota, they were coming across the ocean for economic reasons. Usually writers designate the pre-colonial period of German immigration as composed of newcomers who immigrated in part for economic reasons but more so in search of religious refuge from intolerant German princes and organized churches. In particular there were Mennonites, Moravians, and similar sectarians but also Lutherans, Catholics and some Reformed who resisted territorial laws requiring them to change either their affiliation or their territory. German emigrants following 1840 are usually categorized primarily as economically motivated, though of course there were refugees among Catholic groups from Bismarck's May Laws, draft evaders, and

similar fugitives. At any rate the highest number of German newcomers both to the United States and to Minnesota occurred in the decade from 1880-1890, 1,445,000 and circa 18,000 respectively. To be sure, the economics of both nations — of the new Imperial Germany and of the United States — strongly influenced this immense flow of peoples.

In Minnesota during this peak period, a growing economy yielded a broad expansion of goods and services. For instance, there was significant development of wheat growing, flour milling, lumbering, mining, factory construction, transportation systems, and all that a boom implied. This in turn called for an increase in financial institutions. These financial organs constitute connections that are often neglected, if not entirely overlooked, in the immigration chain.

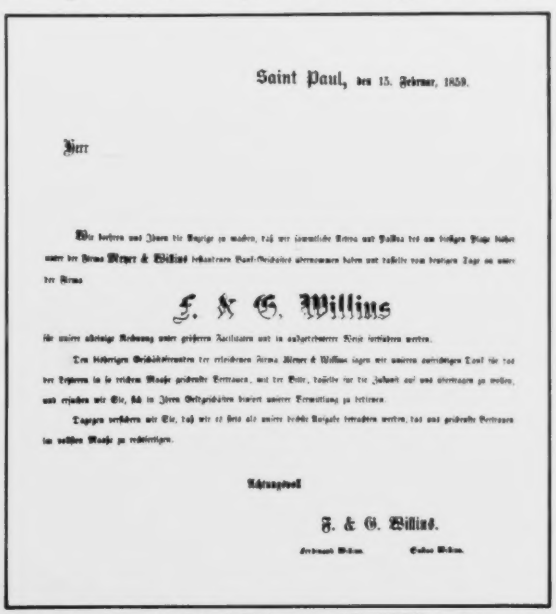
This paper is not the place to offer a comprehensive survey of the banking institutions in Minnesota, but I now wish to shift my focus to quite a narrow aspect of economic development which affected German immigration. Within the larger domain, I will be concerned specifically with German banking institutions in the state; in a more narrow sphere, I shall be concerned with the German banks of St. Paul. How did immigrants dare to come empty handed into a new land, establish themselves, and hope to feed themselves and their families? How could Germans who had permanently departed their homeland expect to transfer what holdings they had to their new setting? And what if someone died in the Fatherland, having willed assets to his son who had gone to America? Would his sons ever receive the proceeds? How about probate? Or perhaps the matter of buying passage for a close relative? Did anyone issue traveller's checks? To these questions we now seek specific answers.

The startup of banking in Minnesota was slow. Admitted to the Union on May 11, 1858 the state adopted a constitution which empowered the state legislature to make general banking laws. Almost immediately, an act was passed providing that a bank must have a minimum capital of $25,000 and be located in a town of over 200 permanent residents. Prior to this law there were several banks, among them the prominent German bank which was owned, directed, and primarily operated by the brothers Ferdinand and Gustav Willius. They were the sons, born in 1830 and 1831 respectively, of Frederick Willius, a Bremen merchant. Following their father's unexpected death in 1838 the boys were educated at the Educational Louisenthal Institute in Lehe, north of Bremerhaven. Ferdinand remained there until 1847 when he left school to become an apprentice in a Bremen grocery and drugstore. In 1850 he was employed in a Bremen sugar factory.

For reasons unknown, Ferdinand left Germany in 1853 for the United States, landing in Baltimore. In search of a position he went first to Philadelphia and then New York, where he found employment with the bill brokerage firm of Cowdry Brothers. A year later he and his friend Henry Meyer decided to head west to Chicago, where they opened a grocery store. Recognizing opportunity still farther west, however, they departed almost immediately for St. Paul, where the two opened the banking house of Meyer and Willius. Back in Germany, Gustav had left school in 1848 to work in a wholesale wine and liquor store before departing in 1856 for New York to find employment. When Gustav failed to find work, Ferdinand invited him to come to St. Paul, where he took a position first with Ambs and Wiedemann, cap makers. The following year Gustav joined Ferdinand, who had plans for expanding the bank by erecting a branch in St. Peter.[7]

Concentrate on St. Paul Banks

Following the death of Henry Meyer, the bank issued flyers stating that the management would discontinue the branch bank in St. Peter. On February 15, 1859, shortly after Minnesota acquired statehood, notifications were issued that the partnership of Meyer and Willius was dissolved in favor of F. and G. Willius, who would do "general banking and exchange business."



Saint Paul, den 15. Februar, 1859.

Herr

Wir beehren uns Ihnen hiermit zu machen, daß wir sämmtliche Activa und Passiva des am heutigen Tage hieselbst unter der Firma Meyer & Willius bestandenen Banquier-Geschäfts übernommen haben und solches vom heutigen Tage an unter der Firma

F. & G. Willius

für unsere alleinige Rechnung unter gleicher Assistenz und in unveränderter Weise fortführen werden.

Den bisherigen Geschäftsfreunden der erloschenen Firma Meyer & Willius sagen wir unseren verbindlichen Dank für das der letzteren in so reichem Maaße geschenkte Vertrauen, und der Bitte, solches für die Zukunft auf uns übertragen zu wollen, uns ersuchen wir Sie, Sich in Ihren Obligenheiten hiervon unserer Vermittlung zu bedienen.

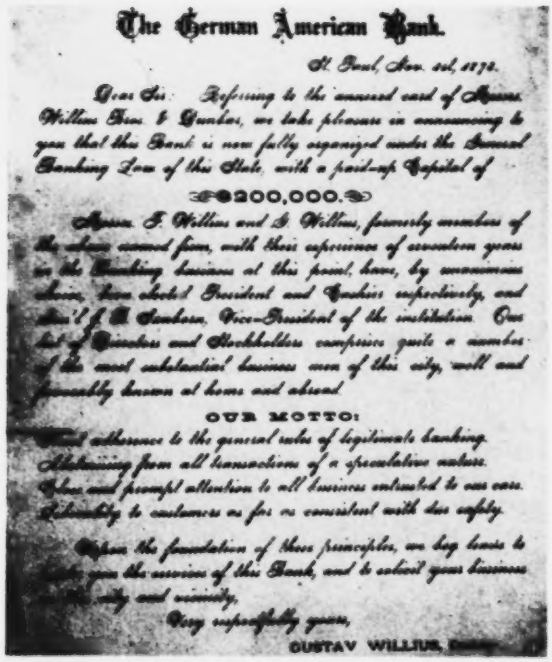
Dagegen ersuchen wir Sie, daß wir es Ihre alt unsere bisher Ausgabe betreffen werden, das uns gedruckte Vertrauen im vollen Maaße zu rechtfertigen.

Hochachtungsvoll

F. & G. Willius.

This document, dated February 15, 1859, announces the dissolution of the firm of Meyer and Willius in favor of the new firm of F. & G. Willius. (Minnesota Historical Society)

101 BEST COPY AVAILABLE



The German American Bank.

St. Paul, Nov. 1st, 1873.

Dear Sir: Referring to the annexed card of Messrs. William Dunbar & Gustav, we take pleasure in announcing to you that the Bank is now fully organized under the General Banking Law of this State, with a paid-up Capital of

$200,000.

Messrs. F. Willius and H. Willius, formerly members of the above named firm, with their experience of seventeen years in the Banking business at this point, have, by unanimous choice, been elected President and Cashier respectively, and Mr. J. H. Dunbar, Vice-President of the institution. Our list of Directors and Stockholders comprises quite a number of the most substantial business men of this city, well and favorably known at home and abroad.

OUR MOTTO:

Strict adherence to the general rules of legitimate banking. Abstaining from all transactions of a speculative nature. Close and prompt attention to all business entrusted to our care. Liberality to customers as far as consistent with due safety.

Upon the foundation of these principles, we beg leave to offer you the services of this Bank, and to solicit your business most truly and sincerely.

Very respectfully yours,

GUSTAV WILLIUS, Cashier.

Announcement of the reorganization of the German-American Bank of St. Paul, November 1, 1873. The previous firm had been Willius Brothers and Dunbar. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Several years later, in 1863, for unknown reasons the brothers took on a partner, making the bank Willius Brothers and Dunbar — which lasted for a decade until 1873. Meanwhile, on November 6, 1858 at the Evangelical Lutheran Trinity Congregation in St. Paul, Ferdinand married Clara Holterhoff, who bore him three daughters and two sons, Robert and Otto. Gustav did not marry until 1872, when he wed Emma Klausmeyer; to them six children were born, including sons Gustav and Frederick, the latter of whom became a doctor at the Mayo Clinic.

The banking heyday of the Willius Brothers occurred in the 1870s and 1880s, during the peak years of their careers and during the very time when immigration from Germany to Minnesota reached its zenith.[8] To meet the demand of the times and to respond better to the needs of the German immigrants to Minnesota, the Willius brothers sought to expand their capacity to serve their German clientele. A major step forward occurred on June 4, 1867 when Ferdinand Willius was officially designated by the King of Prussia to serve as German Consul in St. Paul. The official patent from President Andrew Johnson is dated July 8, 1867.[9] Following his first four-year term in this office, Ferdinand was

Ferdinand Willius and his wife, Clara Holterhoff, on their 50th wedding anniversary in 1909. (Minnesota Historical Society)

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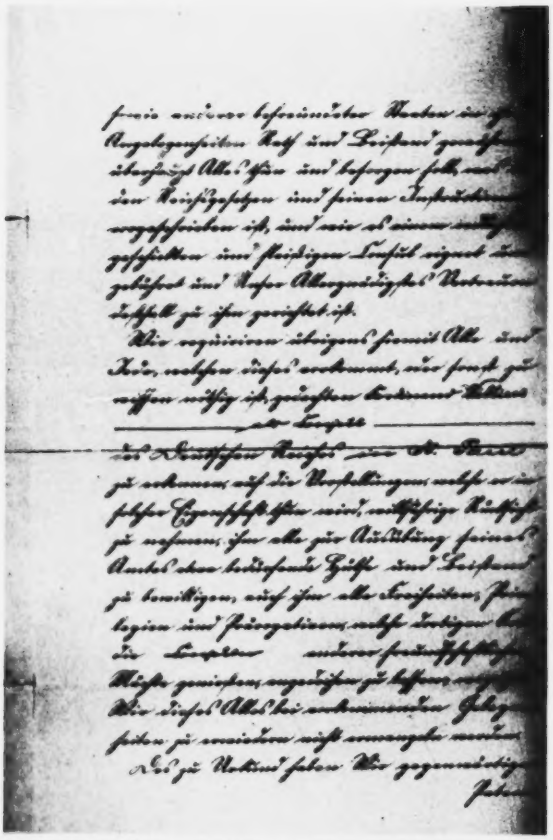
Certificate of the appointment of Ferdinand Willius as German Consul in St. Paul, September 4, 1871. Note that "Wir Wilhelm," by God's Grace German Emperor and King of Prussia, is making this appointment. (Minnesota Historical Society)



Back side of the "Wir Wilhelm" certificate. (Minnesota Historical Society)

reappointed by a declaration dated September 4, 1871, sealed now not by the king but by the new Kaiser, who was writing from the Austrian resort of Bad Gastein. Ferdinand also received the required United States reappointment letter, this time from President Ulysses S. Grant, dated October 24, 1871.[10]

Recognizing the need for greater expansion, the Willius brothers on November 1, 1873 dissolved their association with Dunbar and reorganized the bank into the German-American Bank, the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Bank* of St. Paul, Minnesota.[11] The brothers now placed Ferdinand Willius in charge as president, gave the position of cashier to Gustav, and took on as vice president General John B. Sandborn, who had gained fame as a field commander under Grant at Vicksburg and later against Indian tribes, with whom he negotiated treaties. It would appear that Sanborn's position was more or less honorary, inasmuch as it was quite fashionable to include well-known Civil War figures in business undertakings in the 1870s and 80s. Sanborn's biographers scarcely mention his association with banking, though they are careful to note that he served in both houses of the Minnesota Legislature and had a law practice in St. Paul, where he died in 1904.

Recognition of the appointment of Ferdinand Willius as Consul of the German Empire at St. Paul. Note the signature of President Ulysses S. Grant at the top. The certificate is dated October 24, 1871. (Minnesota Historical Society)

103 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Kaiserlich Deutsches
Consulat.

St. Paul, Minnesota.
F. Willius, Consul.

Wm. Post

Deutschamerikanische Bank.

Mit dem 1. Oktober d. J. tritt in St. Paul, wie wir aus dortigen Blättern ersehen, ein neues Bankinstitut ins Leben, oder vielmehr die alte wohl angesehene, Deutsche Bankfirma „Willius Bro. und Dunbar" wird sich von dem genannten Tag an, in bedeutender Geschäftserweiterung, als Deutsch-amerikanische Bank von St Paul repräsentiren. Es ist dies eine Maßregelbote, die unter den günstigen Auspicien vor sich geht; denn das neue Institut bietet eine höchst solide Grundlage nicht allein in dem guten Ruf, welcher seither der Firma „Willius Bros und Dunbar" zur Seite stand, sondern im Fernern noch darin daß sich eine Anzahl der angesehensten St. Paulet Bürger an dem neuen Geschäfte betheiligen. Dasselbe tritt mit einem Stock Capital von $200,000 ins Leben und wird in dem stattlichen, einer raumlichen Erweiterung und Zweck entsprechenden Banklokal von „Willius Br. geübt werden.

Geschäfts - Veränderung.

Willius Bros., u. Dunbar,

GERMAN AMERICAN BANK

A. Willius,
G. Willius,
C. F. Dunbar.

German American
BANK,
Deutsch-Amerikanische Bank,

Effectives Capital, $200,000.

Directoren:

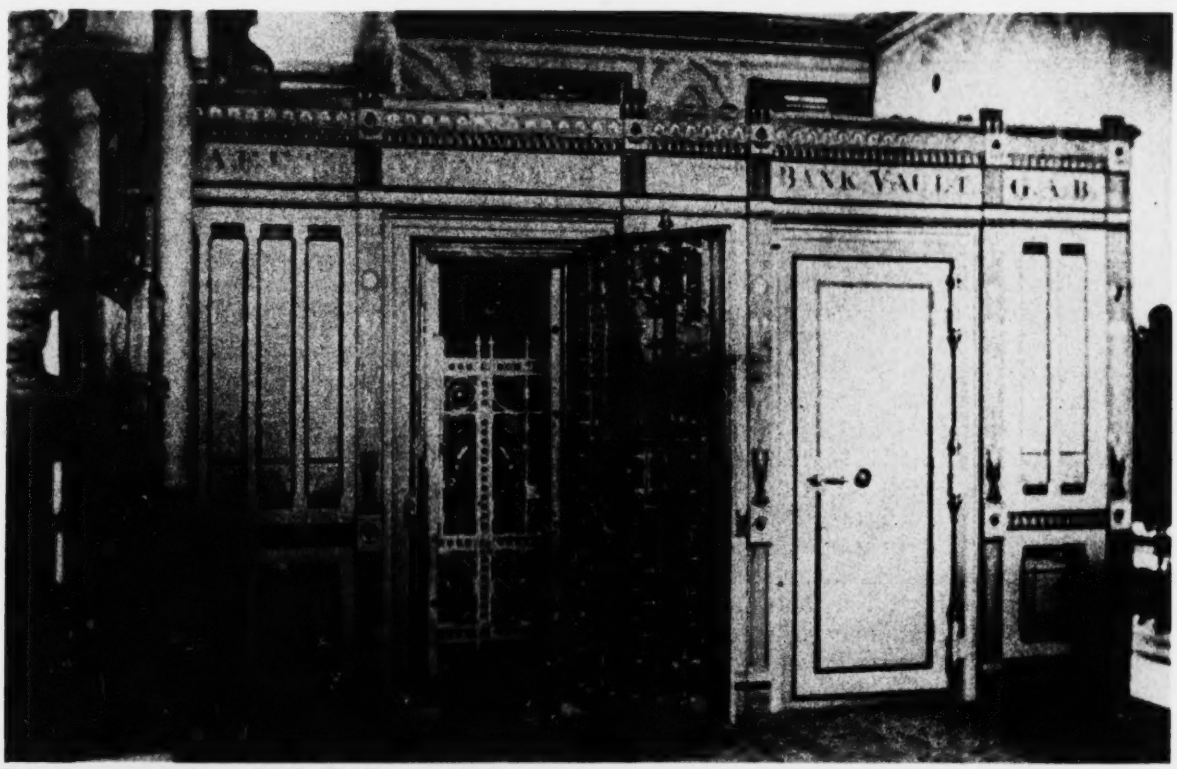
Bernhard Michel
William Willius
John Matthews
Gbr. Stahlmann
John M. Steffer

A Willius family scrapbook contains these advertisements for the German American Bank and announcements of the partnership dissolution. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Last Private Banking House

The German-American Bank stood at 24 Third Street — apparently near the site at which Willius founded his very first bank back in 1856. At the time of his retirement in 1883, Ferdinand Willius recalled, "It was in the early spring of 1856, just about twenty-seven years ago, when, on the rocky bluff-side of upper Third Street, some little distance above the St. Paul Roller Mill, I aided in planting a little acorn, and a very insignificant seed it was."[12] At the time of the reorganization in 1873, however, newspaper reporters were jubilant at the success the Willius brothers had had as bankers. "With one exception the house of Willius . . . is the last survivor of thirteen private banking houses which were in existence during the flush times of 1856-57, and one of the very few of those which passed with honor through the many severe crises since that eventful period, and it has been a general favorite with the business public ever since it was opened."[13]

In the newspapers during the 1860s and 1870s, particularly in the German papers of the Twin cities as well as of outstate German sections of Minnesota, the Willius brothers took out advertisements describing their services. They of course received deposits, paid out interest, and



This photograph shows the Safety Deposit Vault of the German American Bank on Third Street, St. Paul, in 1874. (Minnesota Historical Society)

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The St. Paul Daily Press.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY.

ST. PAUL, AUGUST, 26 1873.

LOCAL AND SUBURBAN.

ANOTHER BANK.

The German American of St. Paul.

As another indication of the rapid growth of commercial and banking establishments, the fact may be mentioned that one of the old banking houses of the city, Willius Brothers & Dunbars', will soon be numbered among the things that were, in order to make room for the more formidable institution into which it will soon be merged. A number of the old and substantial residents of this city have associated themselves together for the purpose of establishing the "German-American of St. Paul," which begins life with a capital of $200,000. The business of the firm named above, and well known throughout the city and State, will be done by the new bank. It will be backed by some of the best houses in the city, and will be located in the rooms now occupied by Willius Brothers & Dunbar. A number of changes will be made in the interior of the room for the purpose of accommodating the increased demands which will undoubtedly be made upon it under the new dispensation.

The German American will enter upon its active business career, about the first of October, and there is every reason for the anticipation that it will prove an excellent addition to the successful and reliable institutions of St. Paul.

A New Banking Firm.

The old and well known banking firm of Willius, Bros. & Dunbar is about to pass out of existence under that title, and take on itself the designation of the "German American Bank of St. Paul," with a capital of $200,000.

The head of the present firm, Ald. Willius entered into the banking business in March, 1856, with Henry Meyer, under the firm name of Meyer & Willius with a small nominal capital. Meyer died in 1857, and about a year later, the firm name was changed to that of F. and G. Willius.

In January, 1863, Mr. L. L. Dunbar became a partner in the firm, and the business has since been successfully carried on under the firm name of Willius Bros. & Dunbar. The stock of the new firm --$200,000—was all taken within five days after the contemplated change became known, the stockholders being among the oldest and most substantial business names of the city.

The great increase of business, the necessity of a larger capital caused by that increase, and the wishes of many of the customers of the bank, have caused this change.

It is expected that the new bank will commence its operations about the 1st of October, when all the details of the proposed change will be completed.

With one single exception the house of Willius, Bros. & Dunbar, is the last survivor of thirteen private banking houses which were in existence during the flush times of 1856 57, and one of the very few of those which passed with honor through the many severe crises since that eventful period, and it has been a general favorite with the business public since ever it was opened.

This St. Paul *Daily Press* article of August 26, 1873 announces the change from Willius Brothers and Dunbar to the new German American Bank. (Minnesota Historical Society)

arranged loans to credit-worthy customers. They were open for business daily from 9 to 3 and on Saturdays from 6 to 7 in the evening. Interest rates for deposits in savings stood at 6% and varied upward for bonds. Beyond these transactions, the bank offered to transfer and receive money to and from any city in Europe and to handle currencies from European countries. They also traded U.S. government bonds and bought and sold silver and gold coins. But their services did not stop at such

Deutsche
Spar - Bank,
von
Gebrüder Willius & Dunbar,
No. 183 Dritte Straße,
St. Paul, : : : : Minnesota

Geschäftsstunden täglich, mit Ausnahme von Sonntagen und Feiertagen, von 9 Uhr Morgens bis 3 Uhr Nachmittags und jeden Sonnabend von 6 bis 7 Uhr Abends.

Die Bank nimmt Depositen entgegen von 1 D[illegible] aufwärts und vergütet 6 Procent per Jahr [illegible]ollar alle Beträge von 5 Dollars und darüber, [illegible]insen auf Monate deponirt waren, halbjährlich, welche drei gerechnet. [illegible]u Zins auf Zins

Circulare und Reglements entgeltlich zu haben. [illegible]onen sind in der Bank un-

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Deutsche Bank
von
Willius Bro's. & Dunbar,
No. 183. Dritte Straße,
St. Paul, : : Minnesota.

Europäisches und inländisches
Bank- und Wechsel-Geschäft.

Depositen.

Bei uns deponirte Gelder stehen jederzeit ohne vorherige Kündigung zur Verfügung der Deponenten. Für auf längere, bestimmte Zeit uns anvertraute Gelder vergüten wir sechs Prozent Zinsen.

Willius Bros u. Dunbar.

Wechsel

auf alle Hauptplätze Europa's und den Ver. Staaten in beliebigen Summen und ermäßigten Coursen. — Von guten Banken oder Banquiers ausgestellte Wechsel können jederzeit in Geld bei uns umgesetzt werden.

Willius Bros. u. Dunbar.

Ver. Staaten Obligationen.

5-20er und andere Ver. Staaten Bonds kaufen und verkaufen wir zum günstigsten Marktpreise.

Willius Bros. u. Dunbar.

Gold & Silber.

Fremde und einheimische Münzen können zum höchsten Werthe in Papier umgesetzt werden bei

Willius Bros u. Dunbar.

Die Einziehung von Erbschaften

und das Incasso von sonstigen Forderungen in allen Theilen Europa's u. den Ver. Staaten, wird prompt von uns besorgt.

Willius Bros. u. Dunbar.

Vollmachten,

Todtenscheine, Verzichtsleistungs-, Schenkungs- und andere für Deutschland bestimmte Urkunden werden unter Garantie der Rechtsgültigkeit angefertigt von

Willius Bros. u. Dunbar.

Ver. Staaten Reisepässe

zur Reise nach und in Europa, besorgen wir auf's prompteste. **Willius Bros. u. Dunbar.**

Die Verwaltung von Grundeigenthum

und sonstigem hier belegenen Vermögen, sowie den Verkauf desselben übernehmen wir für Auswärtige gegen mäßige Commissionsverrechnung; ebenso die

Belegung von Capitalien

auf beste hypothekarische Sicherheit.

Willius Bros. u. Dunbar.

Gelder in Deutschland,

welche bei unseren dortigen Correspondenten für unsere Rechnung niedergelegt werden, sowie durch uns in Deutschland eingezogene Gelder zahlen wir hier in Gold aus.

Willius Bros. u. Dunbar.

Schiffs-Contracte

für Dampf- und Segelschiffe, zu den billigsten Preisen bei

Willius Bros. u. Dunbar.

Agentur der Bremer u. Hamburger
Post-Dampfschiffe.

Passage-Preise zahlbar in Gold.

Von Bremen und Hamburg nach New-York und Baltimore:

Zwischendeck: Erwachsene $40, Kinder von 1 bis 10 Jahren $20, Säuglinge $2.

Von New-York nach Bremen und Hamburg:

Zweite Cajüte: Erwachsene $72, Kinder von 1 bis 10 Jahren $36, Säuglinge frei.

Zwischendeck: Erwachsene $30, Kinder von 1 bis 10 Jahren $15, Säuglinge frei.

Expedition zwei Mal wöchentlich.

Willius Bros. u. Dunbar.

Inland Passage Scheine

zu Reisen von New-York und Baltimore nach St. Paul zu den niedrigsten Preisen bei

Willius Bros. u. Dunbar.

Newspaper advertisements run in German language newspapers throughout Minnesota. These ads, from Willius family scrapbooks, advertise the various services available at the Willius Brothers & Dunbar "Spar-Bank" or Savings Bank. (Minnesota Historical Society)

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Spar-Kasse

der

German American Bank,

(Deutsch-Amerikanische Bank)

St. Paul, Minnesota.

Eingezahltes Capital, - - - - $200,000
Reserve Fond, - - - - - - 30,000

Die Zweck der Spar-Kasse ist die sicher Aufbewahrung und Verzinsung kleiner oder größerer Ersparnisse der Handwerker, Arbeiter, Farmer, Handlungsgehülfen und Anderer, die ihre Gelder so anzulegen wünschen, daß sie der Gefahr der Verluste durch Feuer und Diebstahl, die sie in den Wohnungen stets mehr oder weniger bedroht, entrückt sind, immer nach kurzer Notiz zu ihrer Verfügung stehen und ihnen gleichzeitig angemessene Zinsen einbringen.

Ferner zu Fleiß und Sparsamkeit zu ermuntern und Denjenigen, die bisher mit ihren Mitteln nicht haushälterisch umgingen, Veranlassung zu geben, ihre unnöthigen Ausgaben einzuschränken und sich oder ihren Kindern so nach und nach ein Capital zu erwerben, welches zur Begründung einer eigenen Selbständigkeit zum Ankaufe einer Heimstätte, oder als Zehrpfennig für eine spätere Periode ihres Lebens dienen mag, wenn sie vielleicht weniger im Stande sein werden, ihren Unterhalt zu verdienen.

Die einzelnen Mitglieder jeder Familie sollten ein eigenes Spar-Bankbuch besitzen.

Ein Guthaben in einer Spar-Bank ist ein werthvoller Fond; das beste Schutzmittel gegen Mangel in Krankheitsfällen und im Alter.

„Sorge in guten Tagen
Für spätere schlimme Zeiten."

Eltern! Lehrt Euren Kindern früh das Sparen und sie werden Euch später dafür danken und segnen.

The cover of the German American savings account bankbook for Clara Willius, the wife of Ferdinand, dated October 25, 1880. (Minnesota Historical Society)

ordinary expectations. They also specialized in handling inheritances while acting as brokers for clients on either side of the Atlantic. With reference specifically to Germany, the bank provided the power of attorney, could officially send or receive death certificates, was authorized to accept and administer property, would guarantee documents, draw up legal papers, and solve a host of related problems. A division in the bank also processed passports and procured visas for European travel. Another wing functioned as a brokerage for the management of sales of real estate in the United States, or through agents (for a commission), back in Germany. Money could

Regulationen,

December 31, 1875.

1. Die Bank ist täglich, mit Ausnahme von Sonntagen und Feiertagen, von 9 Uhr Morgens bis 3 Uhr Nachmittags und Sonnabends von 6 bis 7 Uhr Abends geöffnet.
2. Es werden Depositen von einem Dollar aufwärts entgegengenommen.
3. Bei der ersten Einlage muß der Deponent die Regulationen der Bank unterschreiben, und dadurch dieselben anerkennen.
4. Es ist indeß ausdrücklich vorbehalten, daß wenn irgend eine Person eine Einlage macht oder machen läßt, oder Geld von der Bank entweder direct oder indirect erhebt, sie dadurch, selbst ohne ihre Unterschrift, ihre Anerkennung und Genehmigung der Regulationen der Bank ausdrückt.
5. Bei der ersten Einlage erhält jeder Deponent ein Bank-Buch, worin die Regulationen der Bank gedruckt sind.
6. Alle Einlagen werden als Currency creditirt und, je nach Wahl der Spar-Kasse, in Ver. Staaten Schatzamts Noten, National Bank Noten oder solchen anderen Bank Noten zurückgezahlt, welche von den Banken der hiesigen Stadt zum Nennwerthe angenommen werden.
7. Die Bank behält sich das Recht vor, alle Einlagen oder irgend einen Theil derselben zu jeder ihr beliebigen Zeit zurückzuzahlen.
8. Mit Ausnahme von fälligen Zinsen soll die Bank nicht verpflichtet sein, irgend welche Zahlung zu leisten, ohne vorherige schriftliche Kündigung von mindestens 60 Tagen.
9. Gelder können entweder persönlich durch den Deponenten, oder auf dessen schriftliche Anweisung hin erhoben werden, doch soll Niemand berechtigt sein, irgend welche Zahlung zu verlangen, weder Capital noch Zinsen, ohne Vorzeigung des Bankbuches, so daß die Zahlung darin eingetragen werden kann.

(Fortsetzung auf letzter Seite.)

The inside page of the bankbook of the German American Bank listed the "Regulations" covering the account. These nine are not all: the notation at the bottom notes that they are continued on the last page of the book. (Minnesota Historical Society)

A check dated November 11, 1870 drawn on the German American Bank of St. Paul. (Minnesota Historical Society)

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be deposited with the Willius Brothers' agencies in Germany and paid out the same day to clients in America, or put on account as per their wishes. Another office of the bank handled steamer and sailing vessel tickets. This division advertised regularly its official representation of the Bremen and Hamburg *Post-Dampfschiffe,* which coursed between these North German cities and New York or Baltimore. Passage below deck in steerage at the time was $40 for an adult, $20 for a child up to 10, and $2 for a baby in a mother's arms. For a cabin the price was $72 for an adult. To be sure, the bank could ticket passengers from New York or Baltimore directly to St. Paul "at the most favorable prices." Again and again, ads pointed out that the Willius Bank was the "Kaiserlich-Deutsches Consulat," a post which Ferdinand Willius held from 1867 to about 1874, although the actual concluding date is unclear.

DISSOLUTION OF COPARTNERSHIP.

The Copartnership heretofore existing between Gustav Willius and [illegible] under the firm name of

WILLIUS BROTHERS & DUNBAR,

is this day dissolved by mutual consent.

The assets of the firm have been transferred to and all the liabilities of the said firm have been assumed by the newly organized

GERMAN AMERICAN BANK

OF THIS CITY.

To our friends and customers we take this method hereby tender our sincere thanks for past favors and extend their continued liberal support in behalf of the new Bank.

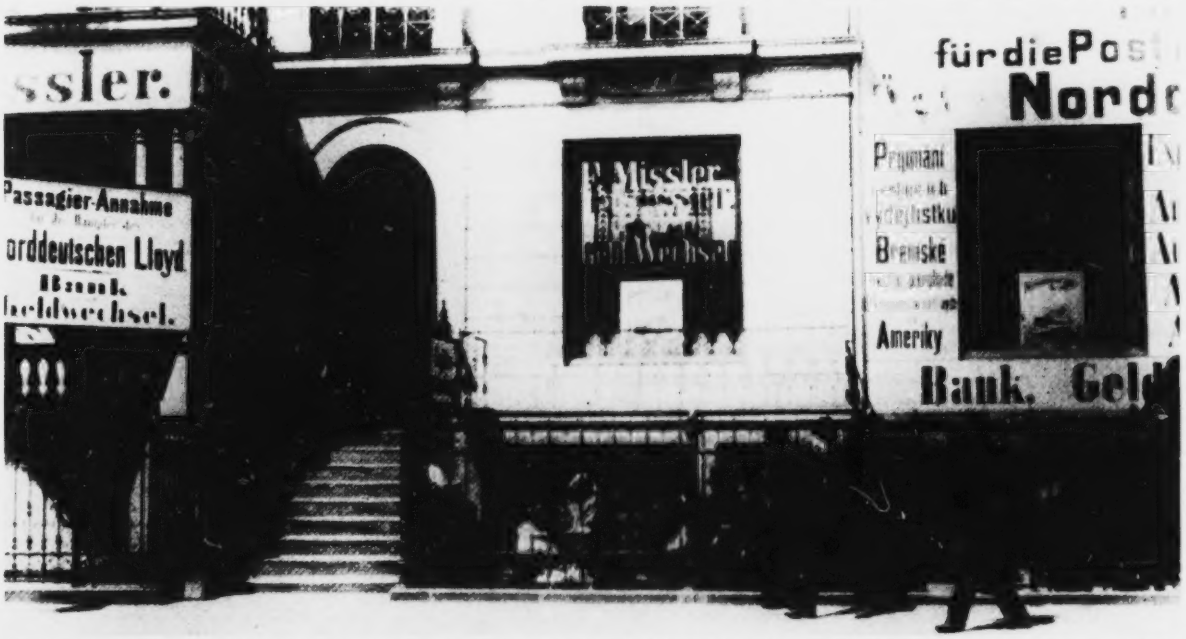
WILLIUS BROTHERS & DUNBAR.

St. Paul, Minn. Nov. 1st, 1873.

This formal printed statement announced the dissolution of the Willius - Dunbar partnership and the transfer of all its assets and liabilities to the new German American Bank. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Willius Support Sought

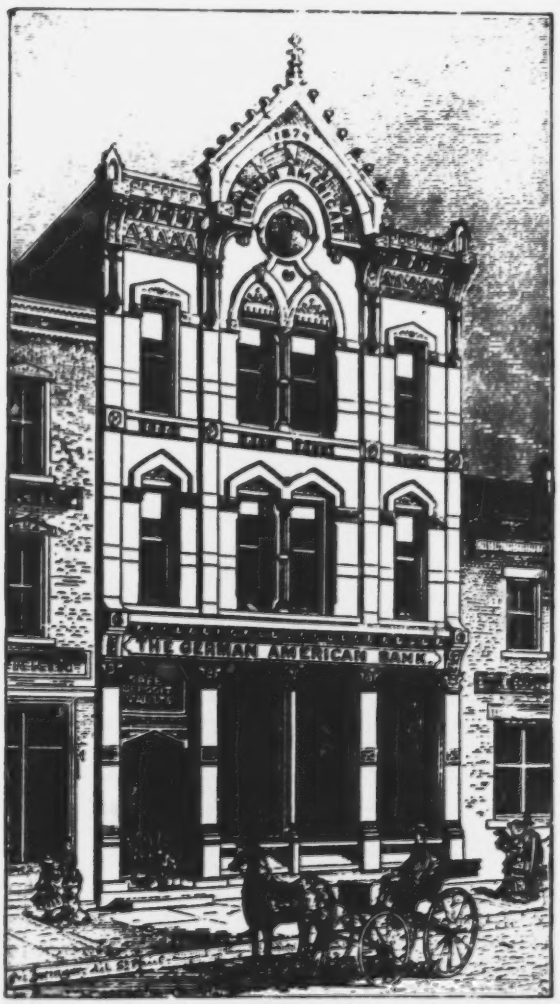
During the decade from 1873-1883, the German-American Bank operated officially with a capital of $200,000 and claimed invested capital of an additional $300,000. All of this lent Ferdinand Willius stature in the German-American and the general business communities, with the result that he was sought out by many for his support and his leadership. Henry Villard of the Northern Pacific Railroad solicited his advice on occasion, and so did Carl Schurz. Together with others, Ferdinand supported establishing immigration commissioners in England and Germany to facilitate the movement of people wishing to come to the United States. Likewise, Ferdinand successfully campaigned for election as an alderman; as a result a downtown St. Paul street was named in (and still attests to) his honor. One of Ferdinand's proud accomplishments was his leadership of a committee which raised funds for the Schiller Monument in Como Park, for which Kaiser Wilhelm II bestowed on him the



The F. Missler Emigration Agency of Bremen advertised and offered travel services for people from many central European countries. (Minnesota Historical Society)

108

Order of the Crown in 1907.[14] By the early years of the 1880s, Ferdinand Willius, aided by his slightly overshadowed but likewise capable brother, Gustav, had brought German banking to its zenith in Minnesota. In fact, the status of German-American banking in the state seemed so assured that its leadership interpreted the situation as one that called for what came to be known as the National German-American Bank. For reasons that are not entirely clear, however, Ferdinand Willius wanted to retire from active banking in 1883; he resigned the presidency of the bank to make an extended trip back to Germany, a "trip" which lasted four years.[15] On the occasion of his retirement Ferdinand was feted at a surprise party held in the board room of the bank; at that time he received "compliments so flattering that it became one of the pleasantest remembrances of my life." Ferdinand thus departed temporarily, except that he remained



This engraving shows the German American Bank at 94 East Third Street, St. Paul, as it appeared in 1880. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Sketch of the Schiller Monument printed in the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, July 8, 1907. Ferdinand Willius headed a committee to raise funds for the Como Park monument.(Minnesota Historical Society)

continuously on the board of directors of the new national bank.

The official reorganization into the National German-American Bank was completed by the first of May, 1883. It needed a national charter, increased its capital from $500,000 to over $2,000,000, and counted among its assets holdings both in the United States and in Europe. On May 3, 1883 the *St. Paul Globe* headlined flamboyantly "A Big Bank. The German-American Transformed into Its Two Million Successor — Only Ten Banks of Equal Proportion in This Country." Proposed by Ferdinand Willius in January of 1882, the new organization took effect on May 2, 1883; the new officers were Walter Mann as president, B.C. Howes as vice president, Gustav Willius as cashier, and Joseph Lockey as assistant cashier. According to the newspaper reports, this new bank had over 250 stockholders, the largest pool of share-owners for any bank in the United States, "comprising among the number many of the leading capitalists not only in this city but others in various portions of the Union and of Europe."

For the time being the bank continued to operate out of its German-American Bank

The cover of a pamphlet advertising the National German American Bank carried a picture of the bank building on Third Street in St. Paul. Ferdinand Willius had retired as president of this bank in 1883 although his brother continued as Vice President. (Minnesota Historical Society)

building on Third Street, onto which it constructed an addition of 20 by 40 feet for the expanded clerical force. It did, however, purchase property at the corner of Fourth and Robert Streets measuring 100 by 150 and engaged the firm of Wirth and Eltzner to develop architectural plans for "a building especially adapted to the immense business of the bank . . . St. Paul feels a proper and justifiable pride in the establishment of such a mammoth banking institution within her limits. It is unmistakable evidence of her growth, and also of the abiding faith which her men of wealth have in her future growth and prosperity. It will give confidence to capitalists in every part of the civilized world, and bring her millions of money to be invested in trade, manufactures, and all that tends to build up one of the destined-to-be largest cities on the American continent."[15]

Lost German Character

If this resounded with a touch of hyperbole, perhaps even then some suspicion was warranted. Enthusiasm and the craving for bigness had introduced a subtle new dimension into the German banking services of St. Paul: banking at this institution became less and less German. Call it assimilation, call it a thirst for national status, call it the American frontier spirit of rugged and risky capitalist expansion: the bank and others like it throughout the state of Minnesota gradually lost their German character. Even in private circles,

The Germania Bank Building at 6 West Fifth Street in St. Paul as it appeared in 1900. (Minnesota Historical Society)

it appears, the Willius brothers in the 1880s became less and less German. When one studies their private correspondence, it is clear that from the time of their arrival to the late 1870s they wrote to family and dignitaries alike almost exclusively in German. After 1880 there were still many letters in German, but the preponderance of the correspondence now shifted to English.

However, the good name of the German-American Bank did not lose its appeal, neither for the entrepeneur nor for the investor. In an effort to build upon the solid reputation of the German bank and to capitalize on the success of the Willius Brothers over the decades, a new group of investors gathered on April 15, 1884 to found an entirely new bank called the "Germania Bank." No longer were the directors primarily German immigrants or of German parentage. Some were, such as Ernst Albrecht, George Benz, Francis von Heyderstadt and William Bickel; but others — such as D.C. Merrill, Mark D. Flower, A.G. Foster, D.D. Larrabie and the famous St. Paul mayor and former governor and senator Alexander Ramsey — clearly were not. Ernst Albrecht was elected president, William Bickel cashier, and — in the traditionally honorary spot — Alexander Ramsey lent his name and national prominence by serving as vice president.[17]

Throughout its initial years of operation, the Germania Bank thrived, and by 1885 it was paying a 4% dividend to its stockholders. Apparently in competition with the national German-American bank, the Germania Bank on August 17, 1887 formed a committee to consider purchasing a lot to erect a completely new and modern buiilding. This structure was intended to house not only the bank itself but to serve as an investment vehicle to take in rents from clients who would lease office space. By September 14, 1887 the bank, through its cashier Bickel, had purchased the

This 1885 photograph shows the newly-founded Germania Bank in St. Paul. Five years later the bank built an eight-story building on Wabasha and Fifth Street. The Street pictured on this photograph is Wabasha. (Minnesota Historical Society)

north 100 feet of lots one and two in Block 21 of the city of St. Paul for the price of $100,000. On the same day the bank increased its capital stock from $300,000 to $400,000. Immediately the board of directors put up for sale the south 50 feet of the 100-foot lot for $50,000. By February 15, 1888 the building committee's plans were agreed upon, and it began receiving architectural sketches for an eight-story fire-proof structure at the corner on Wabasha and Fifth Streets. On May 16 the firm of Walter Stevens was chosen as the best architect in the competition, and the directors proceeded forthwith to erect the building, which was to have seven stories and a full basement measuring 50 by 100 feet. When the bids for construction were opened on February 20, 1889 they came in too high, so some paring was necessary before construction began during the summer of 1889. Later that year the bank also successfully received an offer of $150,000 for the remaining 50 feet of the lot, which was sold to Thomas Lowry. To finance the new building itself, the bankers decided to borrow $100,000 from the Penn Mutual Insurance Company of Philadelphia at an interest of 5.5%. Space in the bank was ready to be rented out beginning in 1890, and — for a few short years — debt-free prosperity seemed just around the corner.

Depression of 1893 Destroys Values

Then suddenly in 1893 the steady increase in land prices abruptly ended, bringing a depression that rapidly destroyed values and equity in property, which catapulted many U.S. banks into insolvency. It was the worst series of panic and bank failures in the history of the Twin Cities. On May 20, 1893 the Farmers and Merchants State Bank failed. On June 22 the State Bank of Minneapolis closed. On July 1 the American Exchange Bank collapsed. On July 8 the Citizens Bank folded, and on July 16 the Bank of New England followed suit.[18]

Not just the Germania Bank but also the National German-American Bank were sent scrambling to renegotiate loans and to hold the depositors at bay until reorganization could be accomplished. For a time it seemed that the Germania bank would right itself. It even let a contract on September 19, 1894 for an all-new artesian well for the bank building and another with the Lowry Company to light the front part of the structure with Arcade lighting. But the shrinking currency continued to threaten the bank. All dividends were cut and — in what appears to be an act of faith in the Willius family success — the Germania Bank in January 1896 brought in Gustav Willius to be president and chief operations officer, in spite of the fact that he had declined to purchase the requested amount of capital stock. That August, Willius was authorized to try to renegotiate an extension of the loan with the Penn Insurance Company. By January 1897, however, the board of directors met to receive a report concerning the continuing run on the bank's deposits. All over the Twin Cities banks were failing, and the Germania, in spite of the Willius name, was forced to reorganize. Back in operation on September 15, 1897, Gustav Willius pushed through new by-laws and additional precautionary reductions in salaries and operational costs. His efforts notwithstanding, Willius reported to the board on July 19, 1899 that the Public Examiner had taken charge of the Germania Bank.

Meanwhile over at the National German-American Bank, Ferdinand Willius, who had retired as president back in 1883, likewise was called back in 1895 as a consultant to help rescue the failing operation. During the period following 1883, when Gustav Willius had served as president, Ferdinand determined in his analysis that the bank operated on imprudent principles. "Upon my return from Europe, but more particularly since my borther's subsequent retirement, I found a great change of policy in the business management and business method."[19] After the departure of the Willius family, the board of directors were no longer involved in the policy-setting of the bank. Instead, the officers carried out decisions strictly on their own. Worst of all, the directors were given preferential treatment in borrowing from the bank over ordinary or outside business customers. Ferdinand's recommendations for change at the National German-American Bank included certain economies in the operation, no more permanent loans without some amortization plan, and direct supervision of the officers by the board of directors.

Apparently Ferdinand Willius was somewhat more successful with the National German-American Bank than was his brother Gustav at the Germania, for the National German-American Bank lasted until 1912, when it merged with the Merchants National Bank of St. Paul. Beginning about the turn of the century, Ferdinand Willius became less active in the banking work, though he served as a trustee and for a time as treasurer of the State Savings Bank of St. Paul. He also supported many civic organizations, including the Commercial Club, the Immigration Club, and the Schiller Monument Committee while also managing his many private investments. On March 2, 1910 the Secretary of the Minnesota

This issue of the *Northwest Magazine*, July, 1890, that showed the exterior of the Germania Life Insurance Building also had an interior view of the entrance stairs. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Historical Society, Warren Upham, tried to recruit Ferdinand to write a history of German immigration and achievements in Minnesota, to be published in the Minnesota Historical Collections, but Willius seemed loath to take on the burden.

F. Willius Dies in 1916

When Ferdinand celebrated his golden wedding anniversary in 1909, he was feted and congratualted by well-wishers from both sides of the Atlantic. He enjoyed a long and peaceful retirement, though he retained his office at Suite 514 National German-American Bank Building in St. Paul throughout most of these years, managing and engaging in new business ventures. When he finally died at the ripe age of 86 while sojourning in San Diego, the *St. Paul Dispatch* headlined: "Ferdinand Willius, Pioneer Capitalist, Dies in San Diego. Former German Consul in St. Paul and Founder of Banks Was Decorated by the Kaiser."[20] In a sense, Ferdinand died just in time, for the United States was about to launch an anti-German salvo with the declaration of war against Germany in April 1917, just five months after Ferdinand's death.[21] Gustav Willius outlived his somewhat more famous brother by eight years, dying finally in October 1924 at the age of 92.

By the time of Gustav's death there was not a single German-American bank left in Minnesota, and it is doubtful that even one survived anywhere in the United States. Prior to 1910 and especially during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the concept of ethnic banking had gained popularity in Minnesota, a tradition that had begun in states to the East. By about 1910, it appears, regulation of banks was so complete that there were few services that an ethnic bank could offer which were distinct from any other bank. Thus it became a matter of a bank continuing to retain a title or, in a few cases, even assuming a name that linked it to the ethnic community for reasons of recognition, popularity, and ultimately more business rather than any distinction in the banking services themselves. Indistinguishable from other banks for all practical purposes by the time the United States went to war with Germany, all of the German banks hastened to change their names in the course of the 1917-1918 hysteria. Although no "German" banks survived past 1918 in Minnesota, a few banks did retain their ethnic names beyond that date, but all of them had Scandinavian ties.

The success or failure of a bank in Minnesota has been ascribed almost exclusively to the factor of management, not to ethnic linkage. In their study of American banking, University of Minnesota Research Institute scholars found evidence "that banks which fell below the standards of good management failed, whereas those that measured up to those standards survived even though located in the same areas and subject to the same conditions."[22] Among the German banks in Minnesota, none seems to have exhibited the sound management that enabled them to weasle through thick and thin for decades on end, with the outstanding exception of the Willius brothers in the German banks of St. Paul. So German a city as New Ulm never engaged in ethnic banking, although the management and boards of directors of their banks were quite exclusively German at various times. And New Ulm banks failed just as others did. That the German banks of St. Paul also went through periods of reorganization following the departure of the Willius brothers is evidence that management ability was characteristic of the individuals and not representative of any ethnic group.

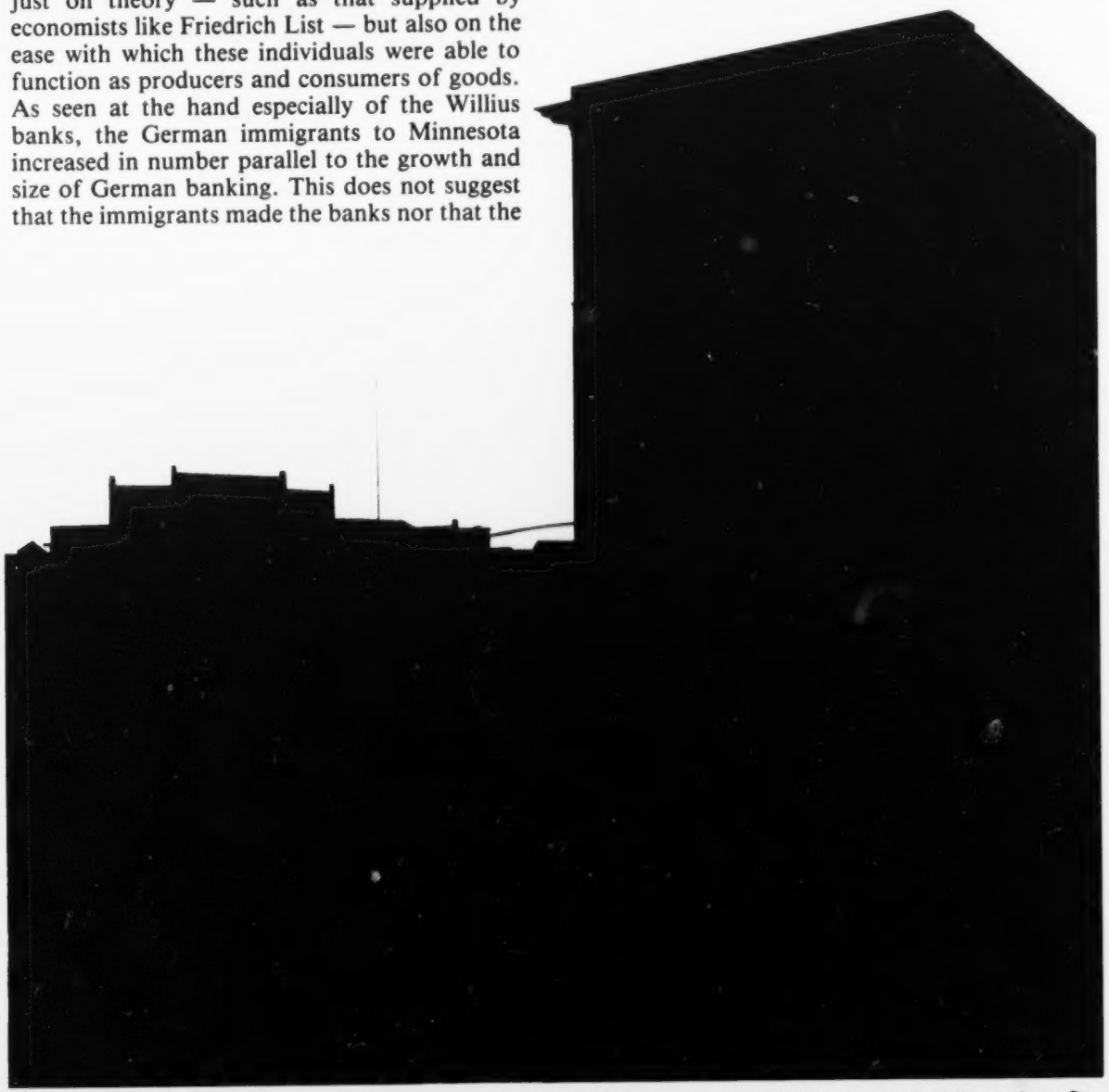
How Ethnic Were These Banks?

Although success or failure is ascribed to individuals rather than to ethnic groups, it is a fact that there were many more banks in Minnesota with the name "German" in their titles than any other ethnic group. Accurate lists are difficult to obtain, but we know of only one Irish American Bank, which was located in Minneapolis and closed its doors on January 4, 1896. There were at least twenty German or German-American banks, including a Germania bank in Minnesota, while Scandinavian banks, including the names of Scandia and Swedish, numbered at least fourteen. In an appendix to this article is a listing of such banks, including the community and county of their location as well as the date of their closing.

There remains, of course, a large gap in our information: did these banks truly cater to the needs of the ethnic communities and thereby facilitate the transition of immigrants from the European to the American financial way of life? It is safe to assume that at the very least each of these institutions provided services in the native tongue denominated in a given bank's title, and this certainly helped the newcomer. Like the minister, the banker was often a counselor and a trusted friend without whom the process of the

settlement and assimilation would have been more difficult. We do know that the Willius brothers reached out to the Germans in the Minnesota River Valley watershed and in the German settlements south from St. Paul along the Mississippi because they placed many advertisements for their services in the outstate as well as metropolitan German newspapers.

Likewise, to imply that economic development and the growth of financial institutions in Minnesota was caused by or even greatly enhanced by the presence of German banking would be a great exaggeration. However, as noted at the outset of this paper, the economy and the total production of goods and services is dependent not just on theory — such as that supplied by economists like Friedrich List — but also on the ease with which these individuals were able to function as producers and consumers of goods. As seen at the hand especially of the Willius banks, the German immigrants to Minnesota increased in number parallel to the growth and size of German banking. This does not suggest that the immigrants made the banks nor that the banks called forth the immigrants, but that there was a mutual relationship which thrived while the need existed, then disappeared when assimilation rendered specialized services a bygone necessity. In this respect, not only were the economic theories of a Friederich List but also the financial services of men like the Willius brothers of significance in the overall development of immigrant Minnesota.



This photograph of the Germania Bank Building at 6 West Fifth Street shows adjoining lesser buildings along St. Paul's Fifth Street. Date: c.1895. (Minnesota Historical Society)

GERMAN STATE BANKS IN MINNESOTA

Name of Bank	City	County	Date of Closing	Cause of Discontinuance
German State Bank	Amboy	Blue Earth	June 8, 1910	Converted to First National Bank
German American State Bank	Bejou	Mahnomen	July 19, 1918	Farmers State Bank
German American State Bank	Clara City	Chippewa	Sept. 14, 1918	Citizens State Bank
German State Bank	Douglas	Olmstead	June 14, 1918	Douglas State Bank
Germantown State Bank	Germantown	Cottonwood	Sept. 10, 1914	Farmers State Bank, Goodridge
German-American Bank	Hastings	Dakota	July 27, 1918	Converted to Hastings National Bank
German American State Bank	Howard Lake	Wright	July 31, 1918	American State Bank
German American State Bank	Mankato	Blue Earth	April 25, 1918	American State Bank
German-American State Bank	Melrose	Stearns	Feb. 21, 1916	Consolidated with Borgerding State Bank
German American State Bank	Millerville	Douglas	April 13, 1918	Millerville State Bank
Germania Bank	Minneapolis	Hennepin	April 17, 1911	Consolidated with Metropolitan Nat'l Bank
German American Bank	Minneapolis	Hennepin	March 22, 1918	North American Bank
German American State Bank	Richmond	Stearns	Sept. 13, 1918	American State Bank
German American Bank	Shakopee	Scott	1883	Liquidated
German American State Bank	St. Michael's Station	Wright	Nov. 1, 1918	Albertville State Bank
German American Bank	St. Paul	Ramsey	Jan. 19, 1888	Converted to a National Bank
Germania Bank	St. Paul	Ramsey	July 17, 1899	Closed
German American State Bank	Torah	Stearns	July 26, 1909	German American Bank of Richmond
German American State Bank	Wells	Faribault	Sept. 9, 1899	Voluntary liquidation
German American Bank	Winona	Winona	May 7, 1897	Consolidated with Merchants Bank

STATE BANKS IN MINNESOTA WITH A SCANDINAVIAN TITLE

Name of Bank	City	County	Date of Closing	Cause of Discontinuance
Scandinavian American State Bank	Badger	Roseau	April 15, 1922	Closed
Scandia Savings Association	Benson	Swift	June 12, 1917	Liquidated
Scandia State Bank	Erskine	Polk	April 30, 1918	First National Bank
Scandia State Bank	Fergus Falls	Otter Tail	Nov. 1, 1918	American State Bank
Scandinavian American	Minneapolis	Hennepin	Dec. 5, 1933	Midland National Bank
Scandia Bank	Minneapolis	Hennepin	Dec. 28, 1896	Closed
Swedish American Bank	Minneapolis	Hennepin	May 2, 1894	Swedish American National Bank
Scandia State Bank	Scandia	Washington	Feb. 23, 1933	Closed
Scandia State Bank	Stephen	Marshall	Sept. 13, 1919	Farmers State Bank
Scandinavian Savings Bank	St. Paul	Ramsey	Dec. 27, 1924	Dissolved, Court Order
Swedish American State Bank	St. Paul	Ramsey	May 22, 1919	Payne Avenue State Bank

Now Professor of German at St. Olaf College in Northfield, La Vern J. Rippley grew up in a German-American rural Wisconsin community, studied in Wisconsin and Massachusetts, and took his Ph.D. at Ohio State University. Rippley is the author of *The German-Americans,* originally published in 1976 and republished in 1983 by the University Press of America, Washington, D.C. which has been called "the fullest and best recent general history" by the Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups. Among Rippley's other publications on the topic of German immigration and settlement patterns in the United States are *Of German Ways* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), *Russian-German Settlements in the United States* (Fargo: Institute for Regional Studies, 1974) and *Excursion Through America by nicholaus Mohr* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley, 1973). Rippley has also published with Heinz Kloss, *Research Possibilities in the German-American Field* (Hamburg, Buske, 1980). His book on *Immigrant Wisconsin* will be published in 1985 by Twayne Press of Boston. Among his 100-plus articles are several which underpin his contribution to the current volume.

Notes

[1]For example, *U.S. News ad World Report,* July 13, 1983.

[2]Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration 1816-1885,* Harvard Historical Monographs, No. 56 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).

[3]*Dictionary of American Biography*, ed. Dumas Malone (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1933), Vol. 11, p. 293.

[4]Otfried Garbe, "Friedrich List: His Impact on the Economic Independence of the United States," in *Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations* and Immigration, ed. Hans L. Trefousse (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), pp. 151-160.

[5]See Clarence Glasrud, ed. *A Special Relationship: Germany and Minnesota, 1945-1985* (Moorhead, MN: Concordia College Press, 1983), "West Germany, Economic Power — Political Power," pp. 24-34.

[6]See the statistical tables in Kathleeen Conzen, "The Germans," *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 406.

[7]Biographical data about the Willius family is in the *St. Paul Dispatch,* Nov. 7, 1916, p. 1, and in the Minnesota Historical Society Archives, A.W736 Willius Papers, 1814-1956, six boxes, including four volumes.

[8]For a discussion of the inflow of immigrants and the boom-bust swings of Minnesota banking from early territorial days to 1875 see Sidney A. Patchin, "The Development of Banking in Minnesota," *Minnesota History,* 2 (1917), 111-168. Patchin is, however, rather incomplete in his reference to early banks that operated in Minnesota and mentions none of the German institutions.

[9]The document from King William of Prussia begins "Wir Wilhelm von Gottes Gnaden, Konig von Preussen, . . ." and bears the official seal. Ferdinand Willius papers, Minnesota archives, Box 2, File 8.

[10]Willius Papers, Minnesota Archives, Box 3, File 1.

[11]See the flow chart in Charles Sterling Popple, *Development of Two Bank Groups in the Central Northwest* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944), p. 29.

[12]Quoted from an article in the *St. Paul Globe,* May 8, 1883, p. 6. Clipping in Minnesota Archives, Willius Papers, Box 6, Vol. 1, scrapbook.

[13]*St. Paul Daily Press,* August 26, 1873. *The New Ulm Post, Minnesota Staatszeitung, St. Paul Evening Journal* and others took positive note of the expansion of the Willius Brothers into the German-American Bank in 1873.

[14]Schiller Monument Committee Papers, 1905-1907, Minnesota Archives, Box 1. St. Paul *Pioneer Press,* July 8, 1907.

[15]Minnesota Archives, Willius Papers, Box 4, File 4, gives some details which Ferdinand penned in 1895 when he spoke concerning impending failure of the National German-American Bank. See also St. Paul *Volkszeitung,* May 8, 1883, *The Pioneer Press,* May 8, 1883 and the *Volkszeitung,* June 6, 1884 which describes Willius departure for "the Old Fatherland" as of that date.

[16]*St. Paul Globe,* May 3, 1883.

[17]The book of minutes of the Germania Bank, from April 15, 1884 - July 19, 1889 is in the Minnesota Archives, Germania Bank Papers, one box.

[18]Popple, *Development of Two Bank Groups,* pp. 46-47.

[19]The Ferdinand Willius report is in the Minnesota Archives, Box 4, File 4 of the Willius Papers.

[20]*St. Paul Dispatch,* Nov. 7, 1916, p. 1.

[21]For one aspect of the hate campaign, see LaVern J. Rippley "Conflict in the Classroom: Anti-Germanism in Minnesota Schools, 1917-1919," *Minnesota History,* 47 (Spring, 1981), 170-183.

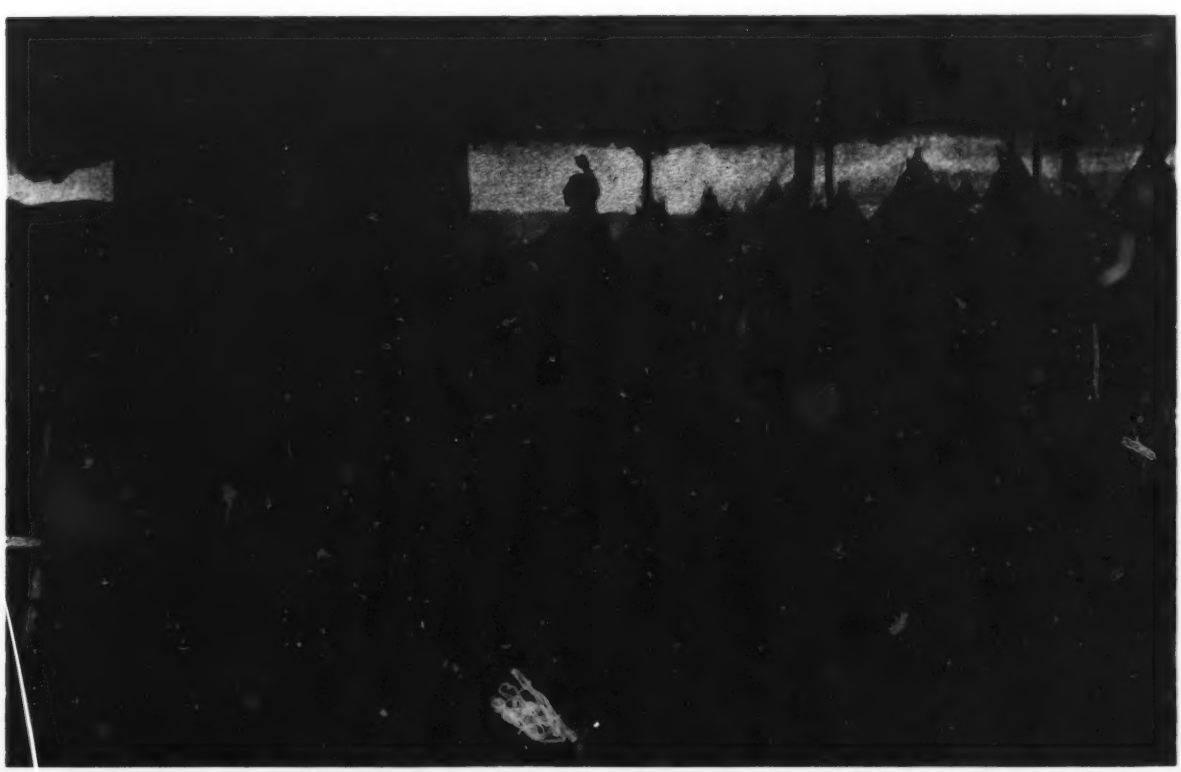
[22]Russell A. Stevenson, ed., *A Type Study of American Banking: Non-Metropolitan Banks in Minnesota,* Bulletins of the Employment Stabilization Research Institute, University of Minnesota, Vol. IV (November, 1934), p. 8.

Minnesota's Germans and the Civil War

by Sister John Christine Wolkerstorfer, C.S.J.

They streamed into Minnesota's river valleys, dotting the Northwest frontier with villages and farms, contributing to the flow of America's "manifest destiny" to make productive an American nation which extended from coast to coast. These German immigrants contributed their all to a developing nation and to an emerging state in exchange for citizenship in both nation and state. Minnesota was the youngest state in the Union when the War between the States became a reality in 1861. Having become a state in 1858, Minnesota faced the awesome tasks of securing her self-identity as a state in her own right and also of enhancing the national image within her borders and within the federal union of states. This dual aspect of her self-determination was put to the test during America's great Civil War, which lasted from 1861 to 1865, and Minnesota's war within the war, the Sioux Uprising of 1862. Minnesota's German population became deeply involved in both upheavals.

Early immigration of Germans to Minnesota was linked to the pattern of German settlement in the entire Mississippi Valley. New Orleans was the key port of entry for Germans. In the 1840's and 1850's cotton was shipped from New Orleans to Hamburg and Bremen as well as to Liverpool and London. The return trips of these vessels brought many Germans to America. Between 1850 and 1860, approximately 150,000 of these immigrants used New Orleans as a port of entry.[1] This pattern of German migration into the Mississippi Valley changed considerably when the first railroad reached the interior in 1854.



The Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, 1853: an oil painting by Francis D. Millet. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Dedication of the New Ulm Defenders' Monument in 1891: left-Union School; right, John Lind House; in the distance, left - St. Paul's Lutheran Church and Holy Trinity Church; right - Frieden's Evangelical Church and Water Tower. (Brown County Historical Society)

Thereafter most Germans seeking homesteads in the new territories in the Midwest followed an East-West route from New York and Baltimore. After the Indian Treaties of 1837, 1850, and 1851, much of Minnesota was open to settlement by white immigrants. Germans with trades and professions found their way to the settlements of St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth. German farmers gravitated toward the southeastern triangle of the state abutting the Mississippi River. They pushed toward the Minnesota River into those fertile plains watered by the river systems of the state. All during the ante-bellum immigration movement into the state, Germans made the most extensive impact on Minnesota. German settlers were the largest immigrant group until 1910. Even in 1983 more Minnesotans claim German ethnic heritage than any other single ethnic background.[2]

In 1860 Minnesota's frontier line roughly followed the Mississippi-Minnesota River system. This included Fillmore, Dodge, and Rice Counties in the southeast and extended west and north of New Ulm in Brown County, continuing north through Nicollet, Sibley, Carver, Wright, and Stearns Counties. Hennepin, Ramsey, and the southernmost part of Washington County had flourishing settlements by 1860 with notable German populations. Persons of German stock comprised 40%-60% of the population behind the frontier line in some townships in Houston, Winona, Wabasha, and Goodhue Counties.[3] Milford township in Brown County and Courtland and Lafayette townships in Nicollet County were 88%-90% German. At this time Minnesota's total white population was 172,023, with 34.1% claiming foreign origin. Among these foreign born Hildegarde Johnson estimates 15,000 to 19,000 were from Germany, 11,000 to 13,000 were from Ireland, and 7,000 to 9,000 were from Norway.[4] The lack of precision in head count notwithstanding, it is incontestable that German migrants formed a considerable portion of Minnesota's population at the outbreak of the Civil War. Aspects of Minnesota's Germans unique to the state were the persistence of the original German core region in the Minnesota Valley and the concentration of German Catholics in Stearns County.

New Ulm a Unique Settlement

Although it is true that many German homesteads were scattered along the Minnesota River Valley and throughout the plains in Stearns County, New Ulm in Brown County was the only town founded by Germans for Germans. New Ulm, a key target in the Sioux Uprising, was founded in 1854 by the Chicago Land Verein, a group of Chicago Germans who sought a rural site for an Utopian community. Led by Ferdinand Beinhorn, this group platted land along the Minnesota River, not far from Fort Ridgley. The site first chosen was a heavily-wooded area on a creek

about eight miles north of the present city of New Ulm. This site had been a Sioux village, abandoned by the Indians as a result of the 1851 Treaty of Traverse des Sioux. This treaty had segregated the Sioux on two ten-mile strips of reservation land along the river farther to the west of New Ulm in Renville County.

In 1856 the Cincinnati Turnverein, led by William Pfaender, merged with the original group to form the German Land Association of Minnesota. The town was named New Ulm and was incorporated in 1858.[5] The Cincinnati group brought the Free-Thinking tradition of the German '48-ers, who were sympathetic with the abortive 1848 revolution in Germany. Most men in the group were well-educatied, politically astute, and professionally oriented.

By the time General Beauregarde and Major Anderson were fighting for control of Fort Sumter, German Catholics dominated the population of Stearns County. By 1860 Germans comprised 68.2% of this central county's foreign-born population.[6] Even today Stearns County has a distinct concentration of German Catholics, giving the county a conservative aura. Germans were enticed to the area as a result of the active recruitment of Father Pierz, a Slovenian German-speaking Indian missionary who had been in the region since 1838. He advertized widely in *Wahrheitsfreund,* a German-Catholic weekly published in Cincinnati. Merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, and mostly farmers came from the East, and also directly from Westphalia, the Rhineland, and Bavaria — some of the most Catholic areas of Germany. In 1856 the Latrobe Benedictines came to serve German-Catholics in the area. In 1857 they founded St. John's Seminary in St. Cloud and later moved the abbey to its current site in Collegeville. In 1858 Benedictine sisters opened a parochial school for the German-Catholics.

Although both St. Paul and Minneapolis had German settlers, Germans did not dominate the population of the Twin Cities. In 1850 the entire Ramsey County had only 57 Germans. The number in the two towns grew to 2,000 by 1860, with more in St. Paul than in Minneapolis.[7] More than in outstate areas, the Twin Cities Germans tended toward professions and business management. They were diverse in religious persuasion.

Minnesota's Germans Oppose Slavery

As the slavery issue catapulted the nation toward civil war in the 1850's, Minnesota's Germans were caught in the maelstrom of conflicting opinions. The two major political parties at the time, Democrats and newly-formed Republicans, vied for the German vote and support. The free-thinkers around New Ulm tended to follow a strong anti-slavery stand after the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 and the rise of the Republican Party made the GOP the champions against the spread of slavery into the territories. They followed the leadership of Carl Schurz, who fought for immigrant naturalization and for similar concerns in national politics, especially in advocating the Homestead Bill and legislation for post roads and railroad expansion into their areas. The GOP promised this legislation as part of their 1860 presidential election platform in order to woo the German vote. Minnesota's Germans took note of this promise.

To this group of freethinking Germans slavery was an odious and evil institution. Slavery threatened the very foundations of the utopian philosophy which they felt was compatible with the American democratic creed. The moral rectitude of fighting a war in order to curb the spread of slavery was noble in their eyes.

Not all Minnesota Germans in 1860 belonged within the GOP political camp. A fringe of the old Southern planters who had for a time settled in the lower Mississippi Valley had moved into the St. Cloud area, seeking arable land for money crops. Slavery and the plantation economic system were inter-dependent to this group. They formed the anti-abolitionist stronghold in the young state and the Democratic nemesis of the abolitionist, Jane Grey Swisshelm and her newspaper, *The St. Cloud Democrat.*

This group of pro-South sympathizers, however, did not dominate the thinking of the rest of the Germans in Stearns County. St. Cloud has never been the sign of which way the rest of the county will go philosophically or politically. The majority of Stearns County Germans were Catholic farmers and small business people, more interested in provincial matters economically and socially than in national events. They simply did not want to become involved in the slavery controversy. Their support of Mr. Lincoln's war was negligible—most were working too hard at building frontier settlements scattered along the river network throughout their broad, fertile area. Several of these infant communities were to know the wrath of the enraged Sioux.

It was a coincidence that Alexander Ramsey, Governor of Minnesota, was in Washington on April 14, 1861, when the news that the Confederates had taken Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor spread through the capital city. Ramsey immediately promised 1,000 Minnesotan volunteers for national defense. He gave a written promise of Minnesota support to President Lincoln through Simon Cameron, the Secretary of War. Minnesota thus can take credit for making

the first offer of troops for the war which engulfed the nation. On April 15, 1861, Governor Ramsey authorized the calling of one infantry regiment of volunteers from the state to serve for three months.[8] Within ten days fourteen companies were organized and ready for duty at Fort Snelling. Minnesota mustered the first 950 men into military service for the Union cause. On June 14 the regiment was ordered to Washington.

From various accounts of the famous Minnesota First Regiment, German names abound on the roster of officers and also of the enlisted men. This regiment saw action from Bull Run to Appomattox. Diaries of Captain Myron Shepard and Sergeant Samuel Bloomer of Stillwater and Sergeant Matthew Marvin of Winona attest to the bravery of the men in this regiment. Original volunteers of the regiment included the St. Paul Volunteers under Captain William H. Acker, the Wabasha Volunteers under Captain John H. Pell, and the Winona Volunteers under Captain Henry C. Lester. During the Peninsular Campaign, the Battle of Antietam, and the fiasco at Fredericksburg, the Minnesota First became recognized as a regiment that stood fast, that never ran when the rebels threatened. Field generals relied on it and praised its performance highly.[9]

Minnesota's First Regiment at Gettysburg

The Minnesota First's most glorious hour came at Gettysburg. Longstreet's Southern troops had almost driven Sickles' Union forces from the Peach Tree area and from Little Round Top. In response to General Hancock's order to "Charge those lines!" the Minnesota First saved the Union position. The command was a desperate attempt to save time until reinforcements arrived. The men knew that they were being sacrificed in order to save the position, perhaps the entire battle, for the Union. The regiment swept down the slope directly toward the enemy's center. Men of the Minnesota First dropped on all sides, yet the advance held the entire Rebel force at bay long enough for help to come. Of the 262 who made the charge, 215 were killed or wounded, 47 remained in line, and not a man was missing.[10]

The questions concerning numbers of casualties and whether or not other regiments were in the area, questions raised by John Imholte's *History of the First Minnesota* (Ross and Haines, Minneapolis, 1963), ought not dim the point addressed here: that the valor of the men in the First Minnesota is unquestionable, given their performance at Gettysburg, and that honor redounds

Officers of the First Minnesota Regiment photographed in front of the Commandant's House at Fort Snelling in May, 1861. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Stephen Miller, Governor of Minnesota, January 11, 1864 to January 8, 1866. (Photographs by C.A. Zimmerman - Minnesota Historical Society)

to the many Minnesota volunteers of German ancestry who were members of that regiment. Imholte cites accounts of the leadership ability of Stephen Miller, a St. Cloud German, who was a very popular Lieutenant Colonel in the Minnesota First. He led the men, staying with them in the thick of battle. He ultimately became Brigadier General of the Minnesota Seventh. Later he served as Governor of the State of Minnesota.[11]

Another Minnesota company instrumental in the North's victory at Gettysburg was the First Company of Minnesota Sharpshooters led by a German, Captain Francis Peteler. He organized the group with the intention of forming an independent company of practical riflemen who had experience with the rifle and who were hardened by frontier living. Another German settler, Benedict Heppler, served as Captain of the Minnesota Sharpshooters. These men fought in most battles of the Eastern Campaign. They were especially effective at Gettysburg, at the Devil's Den and in repelling Pickett's charge.[12]

The Second Minnesota Regiment also had many men from frontier German communities in the state. Fighting under General George Thomas, the Second Minnesota was involved in the Tennessee Valley campaigns and in the plan of subdividing the South by the capture of Atlanta and the March to the Sea. The tainted glory of the latter strategy falls on the Second Minnesota as it must on all participants in the wanton destruction which Northerners dealt the South during Sherman's March. One of the Second's most glorious achievements came during the struggle for Chattanooga. The Minnesotans

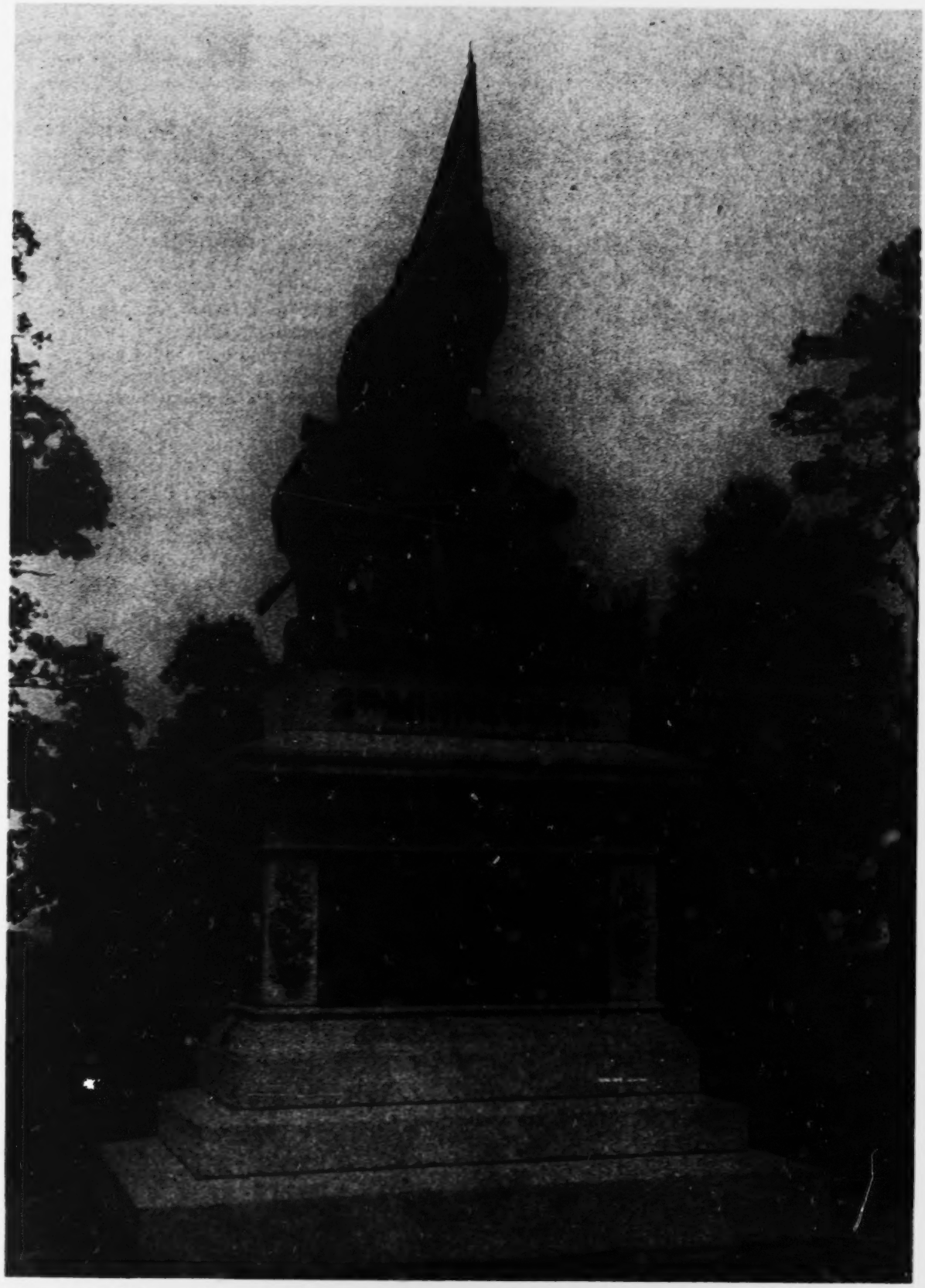
Survivers of the First Minnesota Regiment photographed at Gettysburg in 1913, on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the battle. (Minnesota Historical Society)

The Monument to the Second Minnesota Regiment at Jay's Mill. (Minnesota Historical Society)

proved their worth in completely routing the Rebel forces from Missionary Ridge, just south of the city across the Tennessee River. A huge picture of this feat hangs in the State Capitol in St. Paul. The fall of Chattanooga meant that the North controlled Lee's major supply line from Atlanta to Richmond. Lee and his army thus became more and more hemmed in. It was a matter of time before their supplies ran out.

After the inglorious surrender of the Minnesota Third at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, nothing could alter the image of cowardice and ineptitude which hung over the entire regiment because of the bad decisions of its leader, Colonel Lester, a German from Winona. This regiment included many from communities in Southeastern Minnesota. Part of Buell's Army of the Cumberland, the Third Minnesota was supposed to secure the railroad supply line from Nashville to Chattanooga in order to prevent supplies and reinforcements from reaching General Braxton Bragg and the Confederates in Chattanooga. Against the advice of his supporting officers, Lester surrendered his troops (about 1,300) without any real

The Second Minnesota Regiment at Mission Ridge in the three-day Battle of Chattanooga, November 23-25. The painting is by Douglas Volk. (Minnesota Historical Society)



Monument to the Second Minnesota Regiment at Chickamauga, Tennessee, commemorating the Battle of Snodgrass Hill on September 20, 1863. (Minnesota Historical Society)

The Minnesota Monument at Gettysburg. (Minnesota Historical Society)

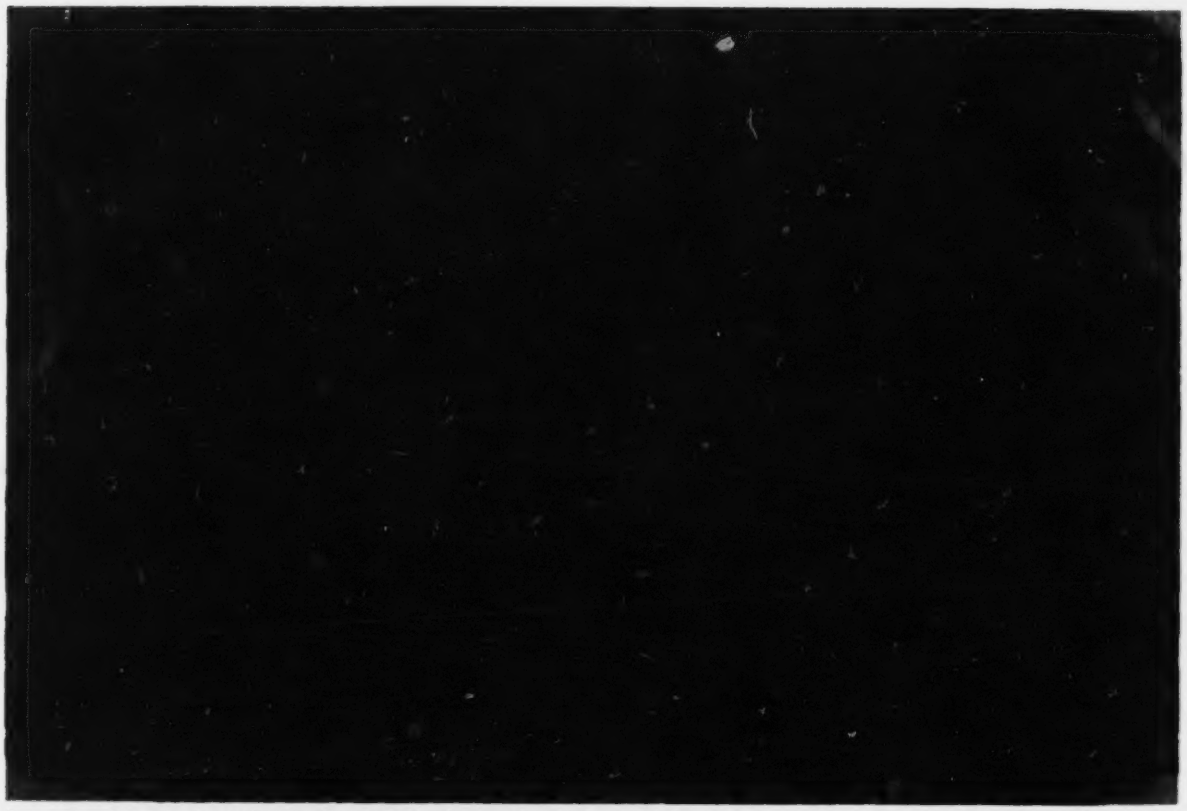
battle. Murfreesboro fell to the Confederates, and the general strategy of Buell's Army to secure Eastern Tennessee for the Union was thwarted. Buell described the surrender as "One of the most disgraceful examples in the history of wars."[13]

The commissioned officers, except Captain Mills and Lieutenants Hodges and Taylor, who had escaped, were sent to Libby Prison near Richmond. The non-commissioned officers and enlisted men were paroled and sent to Benton Barracks in St. Louis, remaining there under the command of Lieutenant R. C. Olin until called for service in quashing the Minnesota Sioux Uprising. Henry C. Lester must bear the blame for the disgraceful surrender. The poor judgment of this Minnesota German cost him his leadership position as well as the respect of his troops, who were angered at his decision not to fight at Murfreesboro.[14]

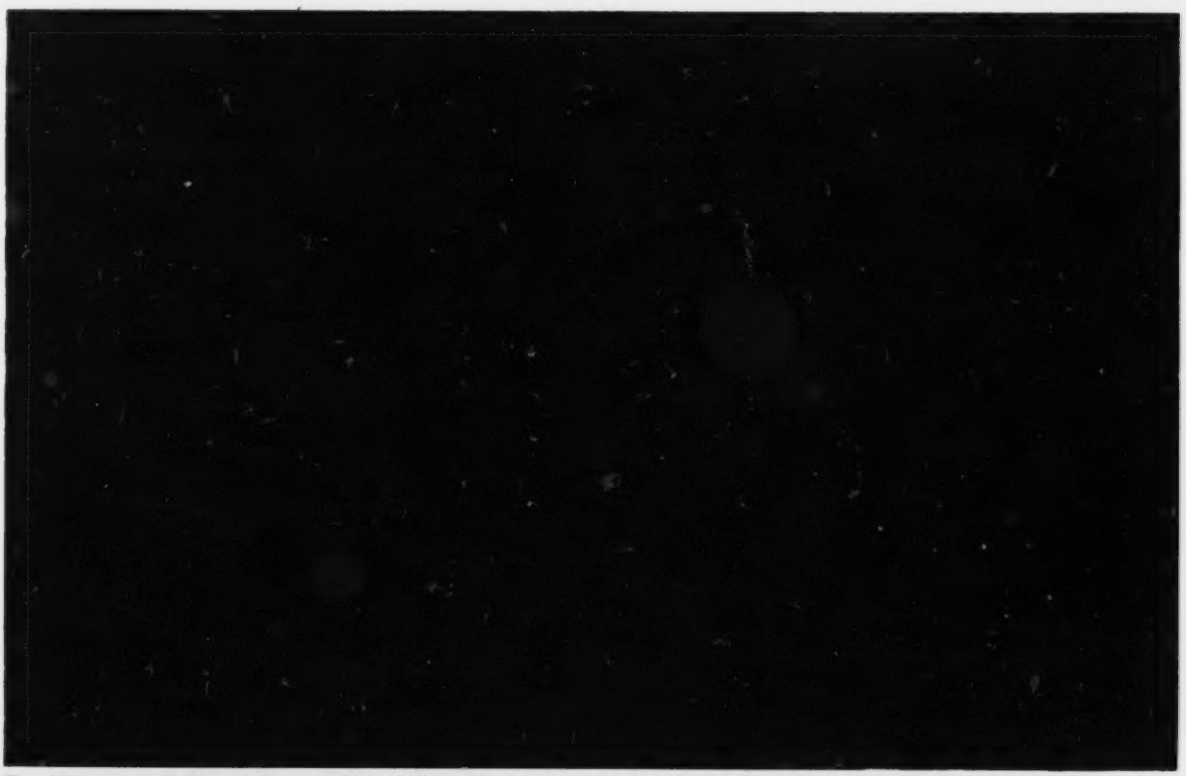
Ordered to Guard Frontier

Before the Fifth Minnesota Regiment was well organized, Companies B, C, and D were ordered

The Libby Prison building in Richmond, Virginia, as it appeared on August 23, 1863. The sign reads: "Libby and Son, Ship Chandlers and Grocers." (Minnesota Historical Society)



Longstreet's attack at the Battle of Gettysburg: from *Harper's Weekly*, August 8, 1863, pp. 504-505. (Minnesota Historical Society)



The Heisser painting of the repulse of Pickett's Division by the First Minnesota at the Battle of Gettysburg, July 3, 1863. (Minnesota Historical Society)

128

to the Minnesota frontier to serve as garrisons for Forts Ridgley, Ripley, and Abercrombie during the spring and summer of 1962. This service helped arrest the progress of the Sioux in the Minnesota Valley, deterred the Chippewa in the North from joining the uprising, and gave state and national authorities necessary time to send trained army personnel to the rescue and protection of the frontier settlers.

For many years the anger of the Sioux against the white settlers and the American government had grown as their land was taken from them and treaty obligations were not met by the U.S. government. Frustrated over their failure to progress through acculturation programs and dejected over starving conditions among their tribes (especially at the Upper Sioux Agency), the Sioux gave vent to their anger in a trail of massacres, burnings, and devastating fear perpetuated against the Minnesota frontier settlements. The Indians' revenge fell heaviest on the scattered German communities along the Minnesota River. The stretch from New Ulm in Brown County to the Lower Agency in Renville County was one of the hardest hit areas. In Milford, just south of New Ulm, the Anton Henle family lost 21 relatives on the first day of the uprising. The frightening news spread rapidly across the Valley, and men, women and children fled to Fort Ridgley and to New Ulm. Fort Ridgley was soon surrounded by Indians and Mankato and St. Peter were too far away, so New Ulm had to shelter most of the fugitives.[15] The siege of Fort Ridgley took place August 20-22. Companies B and C of the Fifth Regiment Minnesota, the Volunteer Infantry, "The Renville Raiders," and citizens and refugees all fought off the onslaught of the Indians[16]. Some of their companies also served in the Western campaigns of the Civil War, being active at Corinth, Nashville, and Mobile.

As news of the Indian war spread, frontiersmen took up arms to defend themselves. Local citizen companies with 3,238 officers and men were organized.[17] Villages near the frontier built stockades large enough to shelter villagers and to store supplies against an Indian attack. St. Cloud, St. Joseph, Maine Prairie, Sauk Centre, and Glencoe all had these forts. Citizens immediately

The Fourth Minnesota Regiment entering Vicksburg on July 4, 1863. The painting is by Francis D. Millet. (Minnesota Historical Society)

organized irregular relief corps and went to the aid of the beleaguered places. New Ulm and Fort Ridgley were relieved first of all.

Governor Ramsey appointed Henry H. Sibley as Colonel and asked that he raise an army to push back the Sioux and reestablish peace on the frontier. Sibley set out from St. Paul toward St. Peter with four companies of the Sixth Minnesota Infantry, most of whom had little training.[18] Sibley's delay in moving his raw recruits to the New Ulm area left the defense of that town to the local citizens and neighboring communities.

Sibley has been highly criticized for his procrastination in bringing relief to the settlers and marching against the Indians. Yet he did manage to drill his raw recruits into a force that defeated the Sioux at Birch Coulee and Wood Lake, driving the great mass of Indians westward to join other bands of Sioux preparing for renewed hostilities. Nevertheless, Sibley drove the marauders from Minnesota, secured the surrender of a large number of Sioux, freed 269 captive frontiersmen, and considerably eased the pressure on the frontier. This was accomplished by late September, 1862, five weeks after the massacre at Acton.[19]

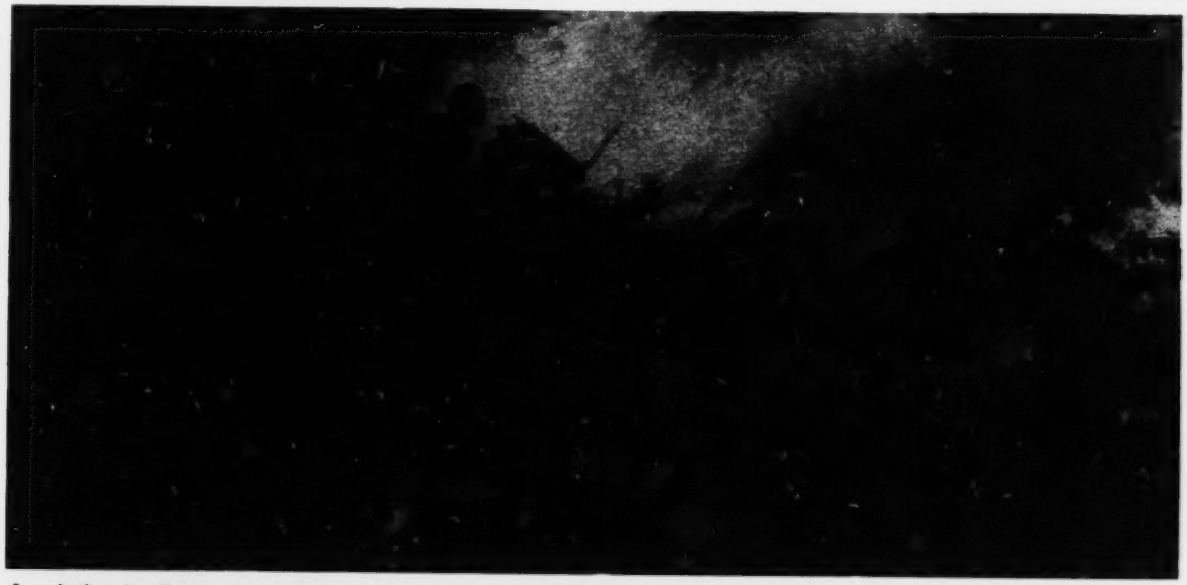
False Charges Made Later

The image of cowardly German settlers relying largely on the defense measures of Anglo-Minnesotans — given in accounts of the uprising written three decades after the event — does great injustice to the German settlers who fought bravely according to accounts written closer to the time of the events.[20] Captain Eugene M. Wilson contributed the negative image when he wrote:

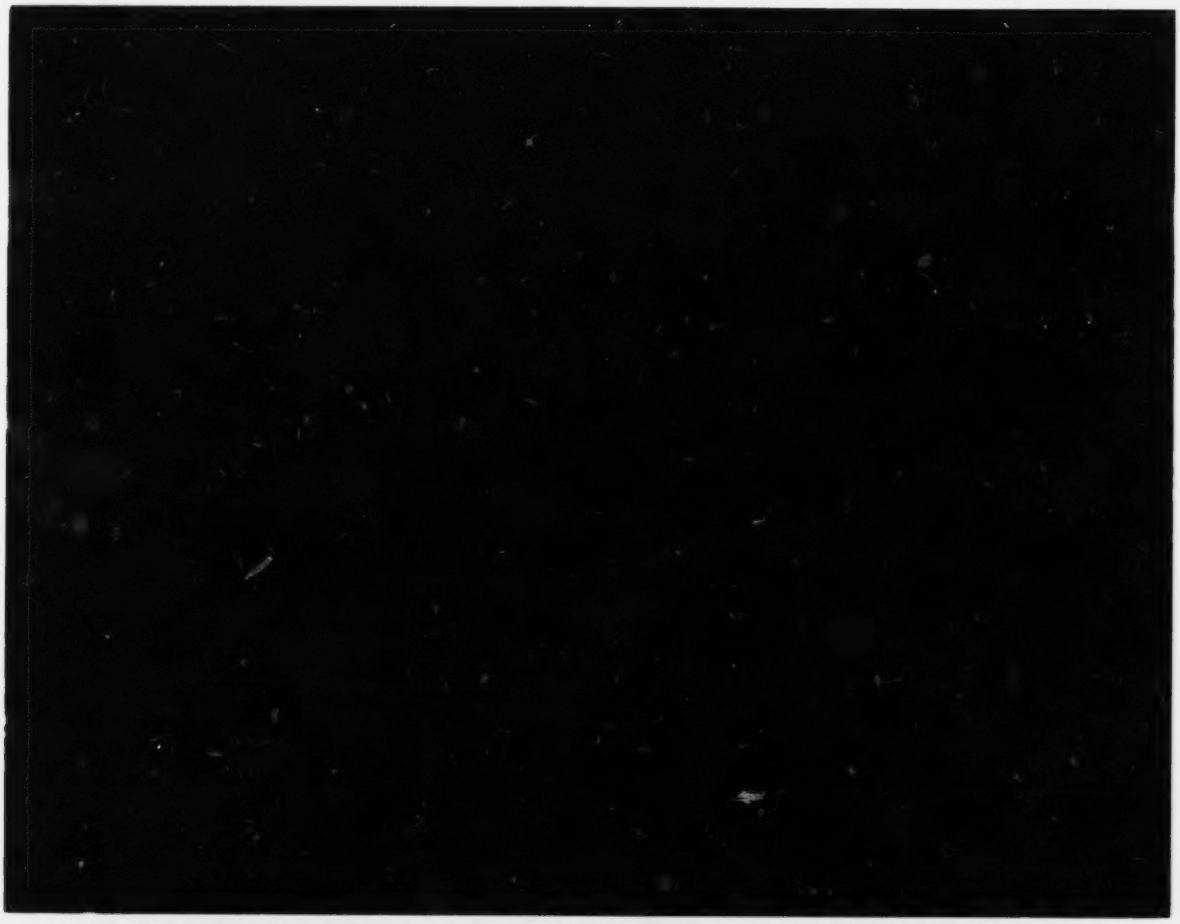
> The great majority of those subject to the terrible attacks were foreigners. Knowing nothing of the Indian character, incapable of defense, and without suspicion of danger, they fell easy and unresisting victims to the whirlwind of death that swept over them. Where there were settlements of native-born citizens, and particularly of those acquainted with frontier life, they generally organized a successful defense.[21]

New Ulm became the place of refuge for most settlers fleeing the pursuing Indian bands. William Pfaender, the best known German leader in New Ulm, was fighting for his country in the South at the time. He would return to his beleaguered community after Bull Run, when news of the Indian Uprising reached the war front. Meanwhile, another German with military experience, Jacob Nix, took command of a company of volunteers in the town. A few days later Judge Charles E. Flandreau arrived with men, rifles, and ammunition from St. Peter, and he took command of the defense of New Ulm. The able-bodied men were organized and equipped as well as circumstances allowed.[22]

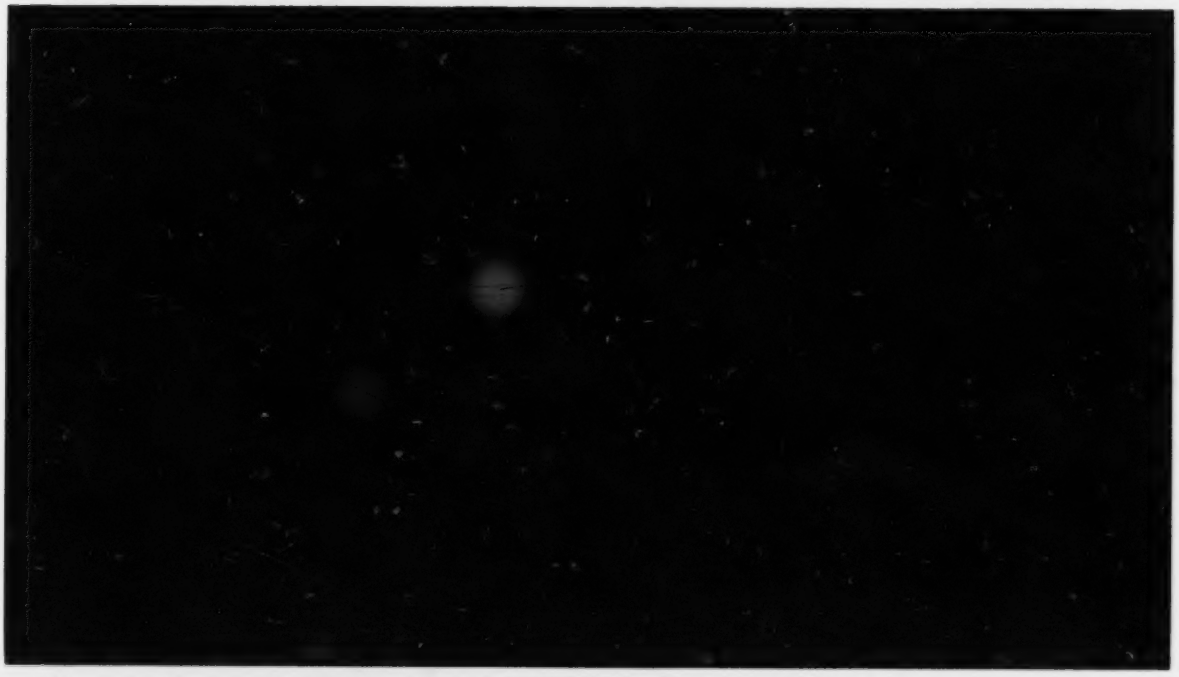
On August 23 the Indians, led by the Mdewakanton Chief Little Crow, began their attack on New Ulm. Concentrating on the lower part of town, they set fire to many buildings — hoping to have the flames spread to the barricaded area



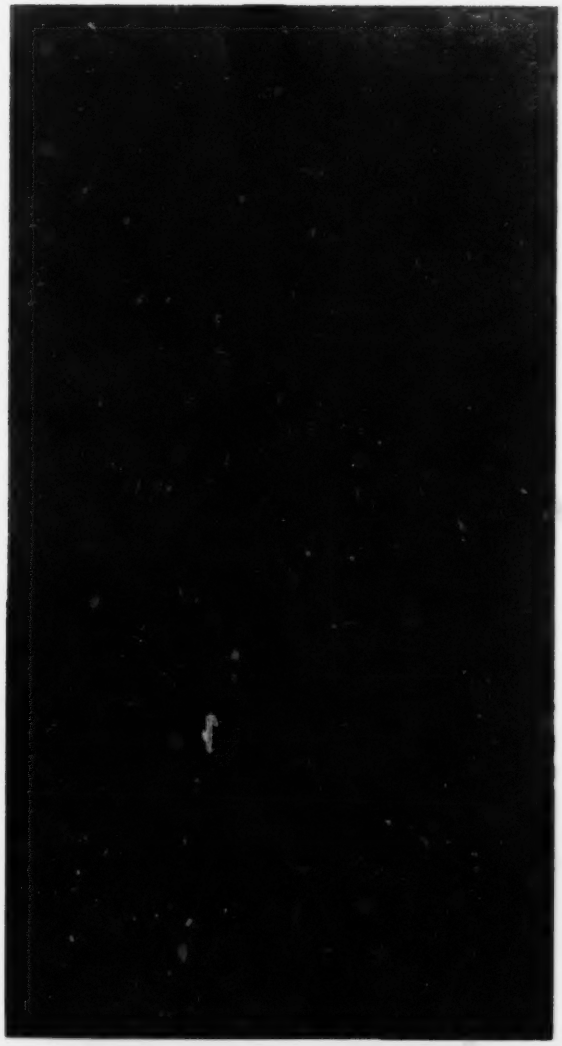
A painting by Edwin Blashfield of the Battle of Corinth in Northern Mississippi. (Minnesota Historical Society)



The change of the Minnesota regiment at the Battle of Nashville, December 16, 1864. The painting is by Howard Pyle. (Minnesota Historical Society)



The Minnesota Monument at Vicksburg, Mississippi. (Minnesota Historical Society)



The Birch Coulee Monument erected in 1894 on a bluff overlooking Morton, Minnesota. The second monument in the rear honors six Sioux who saved the lives of whites. (Minnesota Historical Society)

where the women and children were sheltered. The defenders also burned outlying buildings in order to prevent the Indians from using them to advance to the inner core of town. The well-organized Indians were a much larger force than the defenders. The Indians were well supplied with guns, ammunition, and horses, whereas the New Ulmites had inadequate and limited supplies for open warfare. Many able-bodied men were away fighting in the Tennessee and Potomac campaigns. The Sioux had chosen well their time of uprising.

The battle for New Ulm was no small skirmish on the frontier. The Indians had long chafed under bad treatment by the white men and they mourned the loss of their lands. Their infuriated state was exacerbated by inept government agents who withheld annuities and foodstuff from them at the Upper Agency near Yellow Medicine. They were now alive to the strategic advantage of a capture and keen for scalps and plunder. After a day of continued attacks by the Indians, heavy rains brought respite to the weary defenders of New Ulm. The citizens' defense was truly heroic. Twenty-six citizen soldiers lost their lives and many were wounded. Among the dead were seven New Ulm Germans.[23]

This does not really support the image of ignorant German foreigners cowering behind barricades and leaving the counter-attack against the Sioux to the Anglos from other towns. Although Charles Flandreau and his relieving force from St. Peter were essential in fending off the Sioux attack, one wonders if Flandreau's claim of Germans' cowardice in defense of their town was made to enhance his own image as leader and military strategist in saving the town. It is interesting that Flandreau never owned the decision to burn buildings along the fringes of town until New Ulmites had already done so, demonstrating

The Brass Band of the Fourth Minnesota Regiment photographed at Huntsville, Alabama, in 1864. (Minnesota Historical Society)

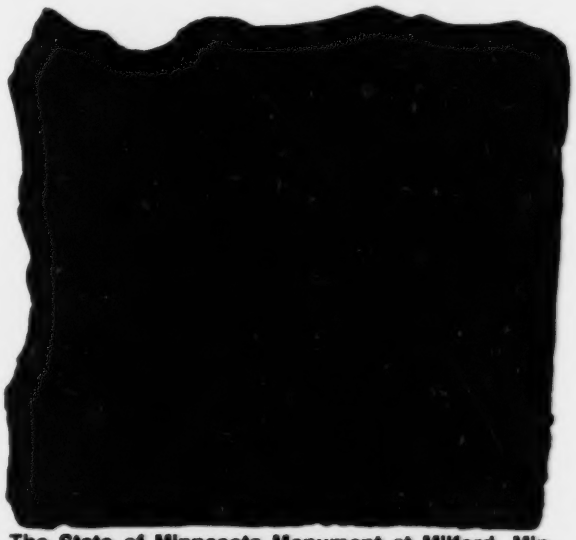
Front view of the Milford Monument erected by the State and dedicated by Governor Theodore Christianson on July 5, 1929. (Holland Print, Scobie Studio - Minnesota Historical Society)

the wisdom of depriving the advancing Sioux of protective bulwarks.[24]

In the subsequent routing of the Indians at Birch Coulee, Minnesota's Third, Fourth, and Fifth Regiments saw action. The Sixth and Seventh Regiments were engaged in the greater Indian War campaigns that followed. The Minnesota First Regiment of Mounted Rangers was also recruited in the fall of 1862 as a need for cavalry against the Indians became clear. The August 18 defeat of Captain Marsh's men while crossing the Redwood River at the Lower Agency had proved the general inadequacy of infantry against warring Indians. William Pfaender served as Lieutenant Colonel in the Second Regiment of Minnesota Volunteer Cavalry organized in 1863.

Did Frontiersmen Provoke Attack?

In assessing the causes of the Sioux Uprising of 1862, one wonders whether or not the German frontiersmen themselves provoked the onslaught. Many questions have been raised by Gary C. Anderson in a recent article in *Minnesota History* (Spring, 1983) entitled "Myrick's Insult." He raises doubt concerning the traditional interpretation of the causes of the Uprising based on the writings of William Watts Folwell. Indian Agent Thomas Galbraith, a dubious political appointee of Governor Alexander Ramsey, must shoulder more blame for inept handling of Indian affairs at the two Sioux Agencies than even the trader Andrew Myrick, who allegedly told the starving Indians to "eat grass."[25] There is no doubt that the Sioux at the Upper Agency were starving in



The State of Minnesota Monument at Milford, Minnesota, has the names of the men, women, and children massacred on August 18, 1862. All the names are conspicuously German. (Holland Print, Scobie Studio of Sleepy Eye, Minnesota - Minnesota Historical Society)

the Spring of 1862. The decision of Little Crow and the Sioux bands to go on the warpath had apparently been solidifying long before the Myrick incident on August 6. On July 4 Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux raided the government warehouse at the Upper Agency. A series of councils took place at the Upper Agency August 5-8, with Chief Little Crow in attendance. He showed concern over broken treaties on the White Man's part. On August 11 hostile Indians were reported at Big Stone Lake. On August 15 Agent Galbraith spoke

with Little Crow at the Lower Agency. On August 18 the Sioux assaulted the Lower Agency. Surely the Sioux rejection of the U.S. government acculturation programs also played its part in antagonizing some factions among the tribes.

Thus far it appears that the Sioux had no specific grudge against the German frontier settlers other than they were white Americans who threatened and disrupted their land, their way of life, and their total culture. It was the misfortune of Minnesota's Germans to be risk-takers, scattering their homesteads considerable distances from older, established towns. These German frontiersmen expected help and protection from the military, but forts Ridgley, Abercrombie, and Ripley were woefully inadequate in numbers of soldiers and amounts of artillery. The state, young as it was, had all it could do to raise the regiments required of Minnesota for President Lincoln's war.

The Indians were not really subdued until the federal militia was sent into the Minnesota Valley to defeat the Sioux and expel them from the state. Only then were Minnesota's German frontiersmen willing to go back to their farms and rebuild what had been destroyed. Many chose not to return, but enough did to once again create prosperous settlements marked with German culture.

Minnesota Germans' support of the Union war effort during the Civil War can only be adequately assessed in the light of service rendered on the battlefields of that war and in their home valley. Besides the Pennsylvania farmers at Gettysburg, Minnesota's German frontiersmen were the only Northerners during the Civil War who knew the fear, frustration, and dogged determination of conducting war to defend their homes, farms, and possessions against ruthless invaders. These Germans proved themselves as stalwart Minnesotans, as stalwart and worthy Americans.

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A reunion of Brackett's Battalion (probably the 50th), photographed by Edward A. Bromley. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Notes

[1]John Fredrick Nau, *German People of New Orleans 1850-1900* (Leiden, Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1958, pp. 7-9.

[2]*Minneapolis Star and Tribune* (June 1, 1983), p. 1A.

[3]Hildegarde Binder Johnson, "The Germans," in June D. Holmquist (Ed.) *They Chose Minnesota* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1981), p. 163.

[4]*Ibid,* p. 158.

[5]Noel Iverson, *Germania, U.S.A.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966), p. 62.

[6]Johnson, p. 167.

[7]*Ibid.,* p. 167.

[8]William Watts Folwell, *A History of Minnesota* Vol. II (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1924), p. 77.

[9]Lieutenant William Lochren, "Narrative of the First Regiment," Board of Commissioners, *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars 1861-1865* Vol. I (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Co., 1891), pp. 17-28.

[10]*Ibid.,* p. 36.

[11]John Imholte, *History of the First Minnesota* (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1963), pp. 120 ff.

[12]Lieutenant Colonel Francis Peteler, "Narrative of the First Company of Sharpshooters," Board of Commissioners, *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars 1861-1865* Vol. I (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Col, 1891), pp. 507-512.

[13]General C.C. Andrews, "Narrative of the Third Regiment," Board of Commissioners, *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars 1861-1865* Vol. I (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Co., 1891) p. 154.

[14]*Ibid.,* p. 155.

[15]General L.F. Hubbard, *et al.,* "Narrative of the Fifth Regiment," Board of Commissioners, *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars 1861-1865* Vol. II (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Co., 1891), pp. 173-193.

[16]*Ibid.,* pp. 193, 193a, 193b.

[17]Virginia Brainard Kunz, *Muskets to Missiles* (St. Paul: Minnesota Statehood Centennial Commission, 1958), p. 86.

[18]Folwell, Vol. II, pp. 148-149.

[19]Kunz, p. 102.

[20]Captain Eugene M. Wilson, "Narrative of the First Regiment of Mounted Rangers," Board of Commissioners, *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars 1861-1865* Vol. I, p. 519 footonoe. See Rev. Alexander Berghold, *The Indians' Revenge: Days of Horror* (San Francisco: P.J. Thomas, 1891). This contains excerpts from many diaries of participants.

[21]*Ibid.,* p. 519.

[22]Rev. Berghold, p. 113.

[23]*Ibid.*, p. 136.

[24]*Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.

[25]Gary Clayton Anderson, "Myrick's Insult," *Minnesota History* (Spring, 1983), 198 ff.

German Clubs and Social Organizations

by Paul A. Schons

The German heritage continues to be preserved in Minnesota by a wide range of clubs and associations. Several of the earliest clubs are still active today, over one hundred years after their founding; in some cases they report renewed life and growth in recent years. The history of the first half of the Twentieth Century was anything but conducive to the proliferation (or even survival) of the organizations existing to preserve the German Heritage, but nevertheless several groups have continued in Minnesota in often weakened but unbroken succession to the present. The three Turner Clubs in New Ulm, St. Paul, and St. Anthony, founded in the mid-Nineteenth Century, are extant in 1983. The clubs in New Ulm and St. Paul remain very active and continue to serve their communities in a variety of ways. The Minneapolis *Liederkranz* was founded in 1898 and has also been continuously active. Like many of the German clubs, the Liederkranz has altered its original character and purpose but continues to serve the

According to their banner, this nineteenth century St. Paul society was devoted to the welfare of new immigrants from Baden. (Minnesota Historical Society)

present needs of its membership. *Der Deutsche Klub* of Minneapolis and St. Paul celebrated its 75th anniversary in 1983 and remains one of the very active clubs — now serving 3,000 people with its wide-ranging cultural and social activities.

Tradition Continues

Thus, despite the effects of two major wars with Germany, the cultural and linguistic heritage of immigrants to Minnesota have been continuously preserved and celebrated throughout our history as a state. The studies in this volume show that there has historically been a rich variety of German cultural activity in the state of Minnesota. One can today look back with interest and perhaps nostalgia to the cultural richness that was.

In a discussion of the German Clubs and Associations in Minnesota, however, one can look to a richness and variety which surrounds us today. We can look to a growing range of societies which are active, vital and growing, and which look with confidence to the future. The proliferation of German Clubs in the state offers a continuing stream of cultural and social events throughout the year. The older clubs, already mentioned, have been joined by a constantly growing number of newly-founded clubs in the second half of the Twentieth Century, when it has become possible once again to experience fulfillment of the German Heritage - a heritage which was at least partly deferred in the first half of the century.

The development of new clubs and activities began in the 50's and continues. The youngest club, the *Stammtisch* German American Club in Mankato was founded with 25 families as charter members just a few months ago. The club plans a variety of cultural and social activities for families in the Mankato area. Plans are in progress in Bemidji, Minnesota, to expand the University German Club into a German Culture Association available to all members of the community.

German Athletic Groups

Returning from the youngest to the oldest continuing German Club, The Turner Club of New Ulm continues to be a very visible and active part of the community. The club's more than 1,000 members are divided into the Central *Turnverein* with 115 members, the Turner Club with 750 members, and the *Frauenverein* with 200 members. Members enjoy a variety of annual, monthly, and weekly German dinners, dances, entertainment events and picnics. The permanent club facilities date back to the hall

New Ulm's Turner Hall. (New Ulm *Journal*)

The Concord Singers of New Ulm made a good will tour of Europe in 1979 and 1983. This picture shows them performing in the Rathaus of Ulm, West Germany in 1979. (Concord Singers photograph)

built originally in 1873. The present structure includes a restaurant, bar, dining hall, and athletic facilities.

True to its founding as a part of the Turner Movement, athletics continue to be an important aspect of the club's activities. The club offers its athletic facilities and the services of its one full-time and two part-time gymnastics instructors to the children of the community free of charge. Over 400 young people in New Ulm take advantage of this service each year.

Other aspects of the German Heritage are preserved in New Ulm by the community as a whole. The main street of the community is clearly German in decor. Three German restaurants enjoy brisk business. A German store is filled with imports and customers. One can find German gardens, monuments, signs and other rememberances of its German heritage in nearly all parts of the community. Each year the community draws thousands of American and European performers and guests to its annual *Heritagefest*, which is one of the largest and most visible celebrations of German Heritage in Minnesota.

The German athletic tradition maintained by the New Ulm Turner Club is also continued by several other clubs in Minnesota. The Saint Paul Turner Club, founded in 1858, has lost much of its German character but preserves the athletic tradition. The 150-member St. Paul Club sponsors softball and bowling teams, and like the club in New Ulm makes its gymnasium and coaching services available to about 200 area young people each year. Participants in athletic endeavors at the St. Paul Club range from four years old thorugh the eldest active athlete, who is now 87.

The Victoria Sports Club serving the area of Victoria, Minnesota, was founded in 1952 to support the interests of recent immigrants in target shooting and soccer. By 1955 the group interested in soccer far outnumbered the shooting group and left to found its own interest group, the Minneapolis Kickers Sport Club. The parent club had dwindled to 15 members by 1983 but continues to meet and organize sport shooting events. Each year a *Schützenfest* is organized as a culminating event, and at the end of the day of full German tradition the *Schützenkönig* is named.

While the original Victoria group is diminished, the offspring — with its membership base largely in Crystal and New Hope — has grown to a membership of 150 and sponsors up to five soccer teams each summer. The old timers club has players through 63 years of age. The club, although it is still largely composed of members and players with German ancestry, has lost much of its association with its German origins. Other than the German tradition of the sport itself, the German heritage is most visible at the five dances sponsored each year to fund the soccer activities. The dances feature German bands and dancing, as well as German foods and German beer.

German Dancing

German dances are a tradition in which many of the Minnesota clubs are active, but the practice and preservation of folk dancing is the focus of two organizations. The Minnesota Schuhplattler organization founded in 1951 now has 50 members and reports that interest and membership are growing. The group offers instruction in German folk dancing and is available for performances throughout the community and the state. The *Schuhplattler* are closely associated with the Minnesota *Volksfest* Association and use the organization's facilities for instruction and dancing, but the organization retains an identity, organization, and focus of activities of its own, apart from the *Volksfest* Association.

The *Edelweiss* Dancers is an organization originally founded to provide folk dancing instruction and experience to children who were most frequently the children of members of the *Schuhplattler* group. The *Edelweiss* Dancers were chartered as an independent group in 1961. During the intervening 22 years, the group has expanded its membership and scope greatly. Presently membership is open to persons of all ages. Membership has grown to 33. Separate dance teachers are available for instruction in German folk dancing to men and women. Like the *Schuhplattler,* the group is closely associated with the Minnesota *Volksfest* Association and uses the facilities of that organization for meetings, practice, and instruction. Unlike the *Schuhplattler,* the *Edelweiss* Dancers tend to view themselves as part of the *Volksfest* Association. Like the *Schuhplattler,* the *Edelweiss* Dancers are available for performances throughout the area.

German Singing Groups

German singing groups are currently less active than the dance groups. The Minneapolis *Liederkranz* was founded in 1898 and for three-quarters of a century preserved the tradition of German song in Minnesota. World War II threatened the continuation of the group, but as reported by current President Robert Diddes, the federal investigator sent to evaluate the group during the War urged them to continue their Friday night rehersals as it would be easier to keep track of them if he knew exactly what they would be doing every Friday night. Unfortunately, age and inertia have overtaken the *Liederkranz.* It has now diminished to 40 members, has given up singing, and functions as a social group of friends. As many as 90% of the members are immigrants

Besides the mid-summer *Heritagefest,* the Concord Singers of New Ulm, which date back to 1931 and claim forbearers in the 1860s, sponsor the *Oktoberfest* in October and *Fasching,* a pre-Lenten carnival. (Concord Singers brochure)

The Concord Singers have important roles in the *Heritagefest* held in New Ulm each summer. Here Bob Blussman entertains a crowd. (Filp Schulke photograph - Concord Singers)

In October, 1983, the Concord Singers of New Ulm performed their "Enten Tanz" at the Nieman-Marcus Fortnight Celebration in Dallas, Texas. (Concord Singers photograph)

from Germany, and along with the card games, chess games, and business meetings, relaxed evenings of conversation in German language are an important part of the group's current activities.

The tradition of German song continues to be very actively supported by the Concord Singers of New Ulm. The group was founded in 1931. It's original purpose was to sing English songs, but with time the ethnic roots of New Ulm had their influence and the group gradually developed to become the Minnesota focal group for the preservation of German ethnic music which it is today. The Concord Singers travel from New Ulm for approximately 100 concert dates each year. They have sung on radio and television, have recorded albums of German songs, have offered concerts in over 100 Minnesota communities, and have toured West Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.

Affiliations Shift

The German Club of another southern Minnesota community east of New Ulm has not enjoyed the success of the various groups in Minnesota's most consciously German city. The *Edelweiss* club of Rochester was formed in 1963. In 1982 the Rochester club determined to break ties with all outisde associations and was launched as an independent club. The club currently has 50 members and sponsors club trips, shows films, and arranges lectures. The club also sponsors a Christmas and New Year's Party. Some of the club members have, however, felt a sense of isolation since 1982 and foresee difficulties in maintaining the club on an independent basis.

Affiliation shifting has recently taken place in another Minnesota German Club. The Twin City club was originally founded in 1978 as a chapter of the German-American National Congress (DANK), but in 1982 changed affiliation to become the German-American Fellowship Association of Minnesota. The 144-member club sponsors bingo games, speakers, dances with German bands, and charter flights to Germany. It fulfills its club mission of the promotion of German language and culture through its club activities, through identifying opportunities for German language instruction for its members, and through informal German language conversation at meetings.

Der Deutsche Klub

Der Deutsche Klub of Minneapolis and St. Paul is one of Minnesota's oldest, largest, and most active clubs. It has actively promoted the preservation of the German language in Minnesota through its sponsorship or support of German radio broadcasts in Stillwater, Shokopee and St. Paul. It has co-sponsored a series of German language feature films in cooperation with the St. Paul College of St. Thomas. Many of the members are fluent in German and

Brad Luerke, one of the younger members of the Concord Singers, takes a break between performances at a recent *Heritagefest*. (New Ulm *Journal* photograph - Concord Singers)

continue to use the language in their conversations. *Der Deutsche Klub* sponsors a wide-ranging series of dances and parties throughout the year. The German bands for the dances are brought from as far away as Milwaukee. All of the activities from the *Oktoberfest* to the *Tanz in der Mai* retain a clear-cut and deliberate German flavor, doing a great deal to promote and popularize the German ethnic tradition in Minnesota. The current paid membership in *Der Deutsche Klub* is 300, but an estimated 3,000 people participate in the club's events and take advantage of its services.

Volksfest Association

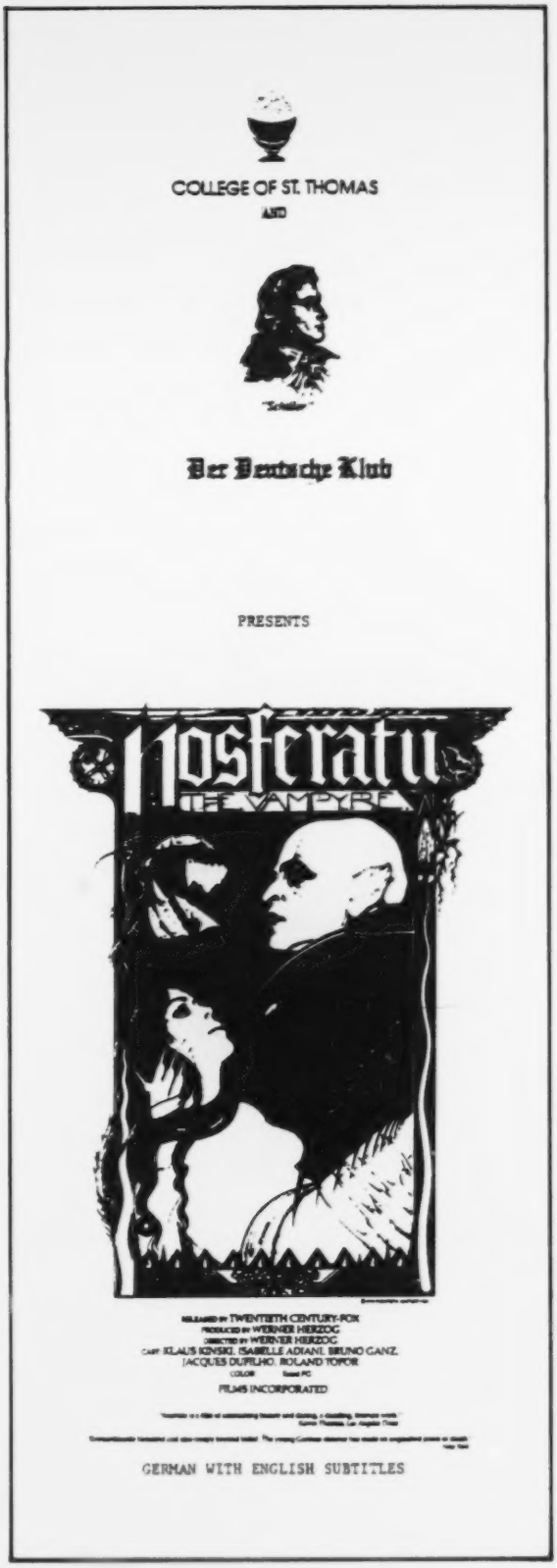
The largest of the German clubs in Minnesota is the *Volksfest* Association of Minnesota. The *Volksfest* Association, with its club facilities in a mansion on historic Summit Avenue in St. Paul, has currently over 2,000 members. The Association was founded in 1956 and acquired its present headquarters, the *Kulturhaus,* in 1957. The Association sponsors German language classes for children with no charge. For a modest fee the Association also offers beginning and intermediate level German language classes for adults.

The *Volksfest* Association has its own choir, the *Volksfest* Singers. The 30-member musical group specializes in German song and is available for outside performances. As has been indicated earlier, the *Volksfest* Association is closely associated with the Minnesota *Schuhplattler* and the *Edelweiss* Dancers.

The club sponsors a hiking club, the Happy Wanderers, preserving the German tradition of the outing on foot. Approximately 20-25 members participate in each outing.

The tradition of German culinary art is preserved by the *Volksfest* Catering Service and is highly respected and well known throughout the region for its quality and authenticity. The April sauerkraut supper is also widely renowned in its own rite. The *Volksfest* Association offers instruction in the artistic pursuit of *Bauernmalerei.* The association maintains a library, a history room, and a gift shop at its Summit Avenue headquarters. It sponsors a senior citizens group meeting monthly and a German language *Sprachklub* also meeting monthly.

The club promotes a series of dances and parties. The largest of these are the *Oktoberfest* sponsored in cooperation with other Twin City clubs, and *Der Deutsche Tag,* a day of German food, song, dance, poetry and culture. The size of the German Day Celebration and the area from which it draws participants is rivaled only by the Heritagefest in New Ulm.



"Der Deutsche Klub" and the College of St. Thomas sponsor a German film series. This is their advertisement for "Nosferatu, the Vampire."

Germanic Society of Minnesota

With the continued proliferation of German Clubs in the Twin Cities during the past 25 years, and the increasing range and often duplication of activities, it has become apparent that some sort of mechanism for coordination and mutual support is needed. Therefore, in 1982 the Germanic Society of Minnesota was founded. The various social, recreational, and fraternal German Clubs in the Twin Cities are represented at meetings of the Germanic Society. Thus, the clubs have found a forum to share ideas and aspirations, to coordinate events, and to make known and promote activities of member clubs among the over 5,000 individuals served by the Twin City German Clubs.

As has been shown, a very wide variety of German heritage activities is preserved and promoted by social and fraternal clubs in Minnesota. It may be noted however, that none of the clubs yet mentioned give extensive attention to the matters of geneology or history. It may be noted further that, although the German language is promoted and used in certain of the groups, the learning and preservation of the language is not of central concern to any of the clubs. These matters are not neglected, however, for several special interest associations in Minnesota set the matters of German history, geneology, and language as their primary focus of interest.

Genealogy and History

The Minnesota Genealogical Society pursues ethnic history and genealogical research as its primary interest. The Society publishes a journal, *The Minnesota Genealogist,* which contains historical articles, biographies, cemetery records, and other studies concerning Minnesota immigrants and pioneers. The Minnesota Genealogical Society also has a German interest section which holds its own meetings and publishes its own newsletter.

The American Historical Society of Germans from Russia established its Northstar Chapter in Minnesota in 1978. The 126-member chapter in Minnesota pursues its very serious interest of historical and geneological research in coordination with its national association, but it also functions as a fraternal group in Minnesota, sponsoring an Oktoberfest and a series of dinners, parties, and picnics.

German Language and Culture

The teaching, use, and promotion of the German language and culture is the central interest of three associations in Minnesota. The Foreign Language Association of the Red River is a professional association of elementary, secondary, and college teachers of foreign languages. The group meets twice annually to share ideas on the teaching of foreign languages and the results of their individual research in the areas of language and literature. German language and literature is one of the primary focus areas of the Northern Minnesota Association.

The Minnesota Chapter of the American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages is a very similar organization, in which concern with the teaching of German language and culture also is one of the primary focus areas. German teachers from all parts of the state participate in the conferences and activities of MCTFL.

The Minnesota association which is wholly directed to the study of German language, culture, and literature is the Minnesota chapter of the American Association of Teachers of German. The 200-member organization is composed of German teachers from all levels of education and from all parts of the state. The association sponsors an annual German contest for high school students: the top prizes are all-expense-paid study trips to West Germany. The association sponsors a high school exchange program through which German students are brought to Minnesota and Minnesotans are placed in schools in West Germany. The Minnesota AATG publishes a newsletter, *Der Minnesota Staats-Brief,* and organizes two conferences annually.

A Heritage Fulfilled

An analysis of the German Clubs currently active in Minnesota would certainly be incomplete without mention of the *Nachwuchs,* the younger generation who will have the prerogative of entering into the activities of the now-functioning clubs and associations to carry on the interest in and promotion of German heritage which has been set in motion.

The outlook is positive. Across the state — in hundreds of schools, colleges and universities — thousands of young people are involved in the study of German language and culture. Hundreds of high school and college German Clubs arrange German parties, German study groups, German singing and dancing groups, German language groups and even sponsor trips to Germany. Numerous exchange arrangements bring German

students to Minnesota and place Minnesota students in situations in Germany.

The high level of German study and club activity in the schools is beginning to translate into interest in and participation in Minnesota fraternal organizations after school. The complaint of many of the clubs a few years ago, that the memberships were advancing in mean age and few young people were coming in, has begun to change. Many of the clubs have now begun to report growing membership and a renewed interest in participation by the new generation.

The heritage fulfulled? Throughout Minnesota in a wide and rich variety of clubs and associations, German heritage is being examined and enjoyed. The interest of young people is growing and clubs are beginning to coordinate their efforts. The number and size of activities is increasing. Clearly the heritage so long deferred is in a phase of rebirth and fulfillment.

A present-day cartoon for Minnesota Germanfest.

Paul A. Schons is a native of Minnesota, the great grandson of emigrants from the Eifel region of Germany, near Trier. He has been Professor of German at the College of St. Thomas since 1967 and Chairman of the Department of Foreign Lanugages since 1978. He received a Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota and has also studied at the College of St. Thomas, the University of Colorado, the University of Innsbruck, the University of Trier, and the Carl Duisberg Society of Cologne. He is the author of *The Minnesota AATG Resource Directory*, a directory of German teaching aids available to German teachers in Minnesota. Other areas of research and publication include German literature and culture of the 19th Century, business German and German business and economics, and teaching techniques and materials in German. He has served the Minnesota chapter of the American Association of Teachers of German as Testing and Awards Director, Vice-President, President, and Director of the Placement Information Center.

Greetings from the Federal Republic of Germany: An Overview

Consul General Dr. Oskar von Siegfried

First of all, thank you for inviting me to this third conference on German-Minnesota relationships. It is a special privilege for me to represent the Federal Republic here and to convey the best wishes of my government to the "Heritage Fulfilled" symposium.

I hesitate to attempt an overview, surrounded by such an impressive group of scholars from both sides of the Atlantic. I am rather a newcomer in this country, still more observant than knowledgeable about developments in the United States. Let me play a more modest role and offer some of my observations after spending a few years in Chicago as the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany.

1) I was surprised to find that 28.8% of all Americans claimed German descent according to the latest U.S. census. In the Middle West that percentage would be much higher.

2) There is a growing interest among these German-Americans in their roots, the German origins of their families. There is concrete evidence of this new interest, for nearly a million Americans fly to Germany each year in search of German roots and Old World relatives.

3) I have been pleased to note a growing interest in Germany, certainly in the Midwest. I confess that I have also found much ignorance — but probably no more than among German people concerning the United States.

4) The amalgamation of the German element into the main stream of American society has astonished me, although I believe it is widely recognized. It seems to me that the higher the intellectual level the more complete this melting into the new American nation has been.

5) The present assembly can judge the role of language retention better than I can. Devoted teachers have helped keep the German language alive in the United States, and I can only express my admiration and appreciation. It became more difficult when the tide of immigration dwindled to a streamlet. Now there is an encouraging new emphasis on the study of foreign languages in the U.S. — even the difficult German language.

Germany a Firm American Ally

Let me add some remarks about the economic and political situation in Germany today. The Federal Republic of Germany, with its sixty-one million people, is one of your nation's firmest allies and most important economic partners in Europe. Our interdependence, economically and politically, has grown stronger during the past thirty-five years.

West Germany is a free market economy, based on free enterprise. Our nation has the most liberal approach to foreign trade and investment of any country in the world. Foreign trade is our bread and butter. The Federal Republic earns almost thirty percent of its Gross National Product (GPA) through international trade.

Because sixty-five percent of our energy and raw materails have to be imported, we are heavily dependent on unimpeded exchange of goods, on a free flow of capital, and on close communication and transportation links with our trading partners all over the world. Year by year we develop closer trade connections with the United States, our largest trade partner out of Europe.

Our economic situation is strongly influenced by developments in the world economy and especially in the United States, which has the world's strongest currency. An example is the very high value, in the past two years, of the American dollar in comparison with the Deutsche Mark and most other international currencies. As a result of a comparatively cheap D M we can export favorably into dollar areas, but our imports are hampered by the expensive dollar.

High American interest rates — usually about 4% above the German average — also attracts free floating German money. As a result German investments in the United States have risen in the past two years to their highest level since the end of World War II. German investments in the United States, about nine billion dollars, are

nearly the same amount as American investments in Germany, but there is a difference in the type of investment. Americans invested in German production and trade, mainly through large international firms, but German investment money flowing into the United States went into bank accounts as well as production.

Germany an Economic Success Story

The Federal Republic of Germany today is considered a wealthy country, a major economic success story of the post-War era, an economic miracle. But there are very few miracles in this world: the success of the German economy is due to hard work, good management, a skilled labor force, a free economy, and a prosperous World Market.

Our GPA is the third highest in the world — after the United States and Japan, and our living standard has become higher than ever before. Both our unemployment rate and inflation rate have been the lowest in the world, 4% or less. But the oil shock and the worldwide economic crisis of the last few years have changed the situation in my country. Our unemployment rate rose to nearly 9%. We now have 2.2 million people out of work, which concerns our political and economic more than any other problem. Fortunately, our inflation rate has remained low.

Interest rates also rose sharply in Germany but have now actually decreased to a discount rate of only 4%. Our government is trying to keep our interest rates low to encourage new investments and motivate our economy to new life. The German economy is recovering very slowly, however, much more slowly than it is in the United States — with its unmeasurable resources and immense capital.

But if you visit Germany you will certainly not see a depressed social environment. The German population has a good income: our salaries are among the highest in the world. Wealth in Germany, however, cannot be compared to the assets and properties in the hands of private persons in England, France, Switzerland and Scandinavia. American companies have a more stable working basis than their German counterparts because of vastly superior equity resources. We must not forget that Germany lost a war forty years ago: among the consequences was the loss of more than one-third of our area.

An Important Trading Nation

Because Germany's share of the world trade is so high some of these facts are overlooked. The Federal Republic holds second place among the trading countries of the world. Of our GPA, 28% is exported; Japan exports 16% and the United States 8%. In the area of payments, a main concern in recent years has been our high deficit in current accounts. Fortunately, this has been changed very considerably within the last year, mainly through greater exports. Export orders dropped in the second half of 1983, however — a reminder that our export industry has to work hard finding new markets while holding the old ones.

The governments of Germany and the U.S. are in full agreement about the free flow of goods, capital and service; we are united in our opposition to protectionism. Germany is concerned about America's moves to protect certain segments of its economy, steel for example, against imports. We trust in the GATT (General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade) agreements and the conclusions of the Williamsburg conference: both argue strongly for the free flow of goods in foreign trade and for the elimination of trade barriers.

Dedication of the Schwarzwald-Haus, the first major structure on the site of Waldsee, the German village at Concordia's International Language Village, near Bemidji, Minnesota, was held on August 20, 1982. Participating in the event were, left to right: Beverly and Edward Fish, Golden Valley, Minnesota, major supporters of the program; Consul General Dr. Oskar von Siegfried, representing the Federal Republic of Germany; Dr. Paul Dovre, president of Concordia College; Odell Bjerknese, director of the International Language Villages; and Al Traaseth, coordinator of the Language Village program.

A handsome carved loon (the Minnesota State bird), was presented to German Vice Consul Oskar von Siegfried at the Bloomington conference luncheon. In this photograph he holds up his trophy for the audience to see, while Darrel Schenk, Odell Bjerkness, and Don Padilla look on.

In our trade with the socialist countries of Eastern Europe we adhere to the COCOM (Coordinating Committee for Export to Communist Countries) guidelines, which prohibit the export of materials of strategic value to nations of the Communist Block. European businessmen, on the other hand, have a long tradition of separating trade from politics: they are accustomed — and by law entitled — to trade freely with any country in the world without government intervention.

Our trade with Communist countries, however, is small in comparison to the trade with our Western partners. For example, our trade with the Soviet Union is only 2% of all our foreign trade, smaller than our trade with Switzerland. The European Common Market accounts for more than 60% of German imports and exports. In our Common Market there is joint administration of agriculture, foreign trade policy, iron and steel, atomic energy — as well as customs regulations.

Trade Lessons Tension

Trade with Eastern Block countries has lessened tensions and improved Germany's political situation. Because we are a divided country, we have had some special experiences since World War II. The people of East Germany live under better conditions than the population of their neighboring eastern countries. What is called "Inner-German Trade" is in large part responsible, and the East Germans know this.

But let me end with a few words about German-American relations. Our trans-Atlantic economic ties are very close, but they need careful coordination. Every country in the world is now dependent upon the functions of international trade and financial relations. Close cooperation and coordination are essential — among the Western Allies and NATO partners — in both economic and political fields.

For us Germans, close relations with the United States are an essential precondition of life — essential for peace and security in Germany and in Europe. But the U.S. forces stationed in Europe also guarantee the peace and freedom of the people of America. German polls consistently show that the great majority of our people are pro-American. This sentiment is especially strong in Berlin. A very high percentage of Germans favor our nation living up to the Atlantic Pact. Friendly relations between our two countries must continue to be based firmly on mutual confidence.

East-West Line Through Germany

Yet even though the Federal Republic of Germany is firmly amalgamated into the Western World, we are constantly reminded of a historical fact: the front line between East and West runs through the midst of our country — unfortunately. Therefore, negotiations in Geneva about arms control — mainly about the INF (International Nuclear Forces) — are widely discussed in Germany. Many people are afraid of the deployment of new missiles on both sides of the East-West line. They recognize that when negotiations fail, the deployment of the Pershing II in Germany and Cruise Missiles in some European countries inevitably begin. Here the opinions of politically interested people differ. Our government, however, is bound to honor its obligations under the 1979 NATO agreement.

Our German people have had much experience with our Eastern neighbors, their Communist rulers, and life under a Communist system. Our younger people, however, have much to learn about these matters. That our German contribution to the defense of freedom is considerable is fully acknowledged by your government. But I want to emphasize again how important mutal understanding is — especially for our younger generations who should learn to know each other better. For this reason we welcome this occasion especially: the 300th anniversary of German settlement in America. Recognition that 28.8% of all Americans have German ancestry should be a special stimulation to strengthen the ties between our two nations.

The Development of a German-American Priesthood: The Benedictines and the St. Paul Diocesan Clergy, 1851-1930

by Daniel P. O'Neill

The most striking characteristics of nineteenth century Catholicism were its ethnic diversity and rapid growth. By 1850 mass immigration had transformed the Catholic Church into the largest religious body in this country. As might be expected, the ethnic composition of the church varied from region to region. In Minnesota, for instance, the Germans and the Irish ranked one and two, at the end of the century. For the church as a whole, the order was reversed.

Despite the prominence of Germans in American Catholicism, relatively little has been written about their history. Landmarks in the literature include Colman Barry's *The Catholic Church and German-Americans* (1952) and Jay Dolan's *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (1975). Barry charts the German struggle for autonomy and the preservation of their language and customs within the American Catholic church. Dolan, on the other hand, presents a case study of the fabric of parish life. His study accentuates the striking differences between Irish and German parishes in terms of liturgical observation, music, parochial schools, and parish organization. Much more work needs to be done on the German Catholic experience in the United States, however.

Though not a German-American specialist, I have been drawn to their history in the course of work in progress on the development of institutional Catholicism in Minnesota. As a social historian my interest is in the recruitment, career patterns, and Americanization of the church's religious professionals, its nuns and priests. In this research I have found that a major concern of the American bishops in the age of mass immigration was the development of an American-trained and, eventually, an American-born clergy. The bishops believed that such a body of priests would give the church and insure that it took deep root in the United States. Despite the importance of clerical recruitment, relatively little has been written on the topic. James Hitchcock's article on St. Louis and my own work on the St. Paul diocesan clergy are about all that has been published to date.[1]

The link between my interest in the history of American Catholicism and this conference on Minnesota Germans is my research on the recruitment of German-American priests. Given the limitations of time and space, my paper cannot be an exhaustive treatment of the topic. Rather, it will highlight some initial findings from a work not yet completed.

The Formative Period

The 1850s were the formative years for Minnesota Catholicism. In that decade the first diocese was organized and the first religious orders

The Reverend Joseph Cretin, a native of France, was a missionary in Iowa for a decade before his appointment as the first bishop of St. Paul.

for women and men made permanent foundations in the territory. The St. Paul diocese began its formal operation in 1851 with the arrival of Bishop Joseph Cretin and a band of missionary priests from France. In response to Cretin's request for priests to minister to a growing German population, the Benedictine monks came to Minnesota in 1856.

The St. Paul diocesan clergy were directly under the control of the bishop but the Benedictines, by their constitution, were a self-governing community. Despite organizational differences, both the diocesan priests and the Benedictines conducted parishes. And given the rapid growth of Catholic population, both also needed to recruit additional priests to assist them in their ministry.

In examining the institutional development of the St. Paul diocese and St. John's Abbey, our focus will be on the recruitment of priests. "Recruit cohort" will be used to designate all of the priests who began their ministry in a given decade for either ecclesiastical organization. Given the small number of priests ordained each year, it makes more sense to think in terms of decades. Moreover, organizing the data in this fashion accentuates structural change and facilitates comparison.

Our analysis of the recruitment of diocesan and Benedictine priests will concentrate on national origins. The national origin of the priests recruited for the St. Paul diocese, differentiated into American or foreign, is shown in Table 1. Priests who came to the United States as children are considered to be American in this compilation. For the first generation of its formal existence, the diocese's clergy were overwhelmingly foreign in origin. Between 1881 and 1910 the foreign proportion dropped to two thirds; after 1911 the foreign contingent declined to less than half. In looking at recruitment patterns over the long haul, one may differentiate three phases: a European phase, 1851-1880; a transitional phase, 1881-1910, in which a significant American minority emerges; and an American phase, 1911-1930.

Americanization of the Church

Seen from another perspective, these figures chart the relatively slow Americanization of the institutional church. Americans began to predominate in ordination classes 70 years after the establishment of Catholicism in Minnesota.

Table 1

THE NATIONAL ORIGIN OF PRIESTS RECRUITED FOR THE ST. PAUL DIOCESE BETWEEN 1851 AND 1930 BY DECADE DIFFERENTIATED INTO AMERICAN BORN OR RAISED AND FOREIGN BORN AND RAISED RECRUITS.

RECRUIT COHORT	AMERICAN BORN OR RAISED		FOREIGN BORN AND RAISED	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1851-1860	3	11	23	88
1861-1870	4	9	41	91
1871-1880	7	8	75	91
1881-1890	51	35	93	65
1891-1900	41	34	80	66
1901-1910	55	33	111	67
1911-1920	74	62	45	38
1921-1930	100	77	30	23

Table 2

THE NATIONAL ORIGIN OF BENEDICTINES ORDAINED FOR ST. JOHN'S ABBEY IN MINNESOTA BETWEEN 1856 AND 1930 NUMBER AND PERCENT AMERICAN BORN OR RAISED AND FOREIGN BORN AND RAISED.

RECRUIT COHORT	AMERICAN BORN OR RAISED		FOREIGN BORN AND RAISED	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1856-1860	0	0	4	100
1861-1870	5	62	3	37
1871-1880	7	26	20	74
1881-1890	11	35	20	65
1891-1900	17	55	14	45
1901-1910	27	82	6	18
1911-1920	27	81	6	19
1921-1930	46	96	2	4

Similar data on the recruitment of the Benedictines is found in Table 2.[2] Given the German roots of the Benedictines in this country, it is not surprising that most of their candidates were of German birth or descent. St. John's Abbey began to attract American candidates relatively early. During the monks' first full decade in Minnesota, the 1860s, a majority of their candidates were American in origin. Considering that there were only eight priests in this recruit cohort, however, it is best to look at subsequent cohorts to discern patterns. From the 1870s there is a consistant growth in the number of American priests. The turning point came in the 1890s with an American majority in a sizeable recruit cohort. By the 1920s almost all of the candidates ordained were American.

Analyzing Benedictine recruitment patterns from a long-term perspective, one may differentiate two phases: an initial period with a significant American minority, and after 1891 an American phase. By the early part of this century the Benedictines, considered from the perspective of their membership, were well on the road to being an American institution.

In comparing the recruitment patterns of the St. Paul diocesan clergy and the Benedictines, two differences stand out. The Benedictines, unlike the diocesan priests, attracted a sizeable number of American candidates from an early date. And more important, the Benedictines produced an American majority in their ordination classes twenty years before the St. Paul diocesan clergy.

A crucial factor in the Americanization of the Benedictines was their opening of a monastery school in 1857: it developed a seminary program as well as a collegiate program, serving both lay and clerical students. The existence of this comprehensive educational system undoubtedly fostered vocations for the Benedictine order.

The Impact of a Local Seminary

The St. Paul diocese, in contrast, did not establish its own seminary on a permanent footing until 1884. Earlier attempts to develop a diocesan seminary, between 1852-1858 and 1862-1867, did not prove lasting. Once St. Paul's diocesan seminary was in operation, the number of American candidates ordained increased dramatically. Within a generation Americans constituted a majority in its ordination class.

This oil painting by Sweeney shows the log Chapel of St. Paul in 1852, the year after Bishop Cretin and his French priests arrived. (Minnesota Historical Society)

John Ireland in 1862, a chaplain in the 5th Minnesota Volunteers. (Minnesota Historical Society)

The experience of the Benedictine and the St. Paul diocesan clergy in achieving the Americanization of their membership provides a case study of the impact of a local seminary on recruitment. In the early decades of both seminaries American candidates were a minority, but within a generation both institutions were producing ordination classes composed primarily of American candidates.

There is irony in the Benedictine lead in producing American vocations for the priesthood. Their ecclesiastical neighbor in St. Paul, Archbishop Ireland, head of the St. Paul diocese from 1884-1918 and a leader of the Americanizing wing of the Catholic hierarchy, was outspoken in his call for the development of a locally-recruited and trained diocesan clergy. Yet the Benedictines achieved this goal before Ireland's own diocese.

The priests of St. John's Abbey were an ethnically homogenous group, practically all German immigrants or German-Americans. The priests of the St. Paul diocese, on the other hand, were an ethnically diverse group. Included in their ranks were priests from France, Germany,

The first Chapel of St. Paul in 1852 — which gave the city its name. French Canadian and Swiss refugees from the Canadian Selkirk Colony near Fort Garry (now Winnipeg), who had come down to the vicinity of Fort Snelling in the 1830s, had started a settlement first called "Pigs-Eye" — after the liquor trader who had come there first. The Roman Catholic Chapel of St. Paul built in 1841 gave the place a more respectable name.

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Ireland, Holland, Poland, Bohemia, Canada and the United States. Their ethnic diversity reflected the Catholic community in Minnesota. The Benedictines specialized in conducting German parishes; the diocesan priests conducted parishes for all ethnic groups in the St. Paul diocese.

An important dimension of the Americanization of the institutional church is the ethnic background of American candidates for the priesthood. In the Benedictines, German-Americans gradually replaced German immigrants in the ranks of the order. In the diocesan clergy, transition from a European to an American institution — considered solely from the perspective of the origins of the clergy — was more complex. To analyze this structural change I am going to focus on the ethnic origins of "the native sons," priests born in Minnesota or brought to the state as children. The production of these local candidates was part of Archbishop Ireland's program to reduce his diocese's dependence on priests from the outside, from Europe or other places in the United States.

Archbishop John Ireland. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Native Sons in the Diocesan Priesthood

Native sons began to be ordained for the St. Paul diocese in the 1860s. The production of native vocations varied from one ethnic group to another; the French, for example, did not produce their first American vocations until the 1920s. In discussing the ethnic dimension of the diocesan priesthood, I will concentrate on the Germans and the Irish, the major ethnic groups in the Minnesota Catholic community.

The ethnic background of native sons in the diocesan priesthood can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3

ETHNIC STOCK OF NATIVE SONS ORDAINED FOR THE ST. PAUL DIOCESAN CLERGY BETWEEN 1861 AND 1930, NUMBER AND PERCENT IRISH-AMERICAN, GERMAN-AMERICAN AND OTHER.

RECRUIT COHORT	IRISH-AMERICAN		GERMAN-AMERICAN		OTHER	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1861-1870	2	100	0	0	0	0
1871-1880	5	71	1	14	1	14
1881-1890	15	71	3	14	3	14
1891-1900	13	68	4	21	2	10
1901-1910	12	33	7	19	17	47
1911-1920	28	46	18	29	15	25
1921-1930	29	40	20	28	23	32

Table 4

NUMBER AND RATIO OF GERMAN-AMERICAN AND IRISH-AMERICAN NATIVE SONS ORDAINED FOR ST. PAUL DIOCESE BETWEEN 1871 AND 1930.

RECRUIT COHORT	IRISH-AMERICAN PRIESTS	GERMAN-AMERICAN PRIESTS	RATIO: GERMAN/IRISH
	Number	Number	
1871-1880	5	1	1/5
1881-1890	15	3	1/5
1891-1900	13	4	1/3
1901-1910	12	7	1/1.7
1911-1920	28	18	1/1.5
1921-1930	29	20	1/1.45

Reflecting the ethnic make-up of the church in Minnesota, local candidates were predominantly of German or Irish descent. This can be highlighted by looking under "Other." In the last century the groups falling under this heading produced about a tenth of the American vocations; in this century, except for the 1901-1910 cohort, a quarter to a third.

The best way to characterize Irish vocation productivity is to borrow the political machine's adage on voting: early and often. The Irish produced the first local vocations in the 1860s, and 70 percent between 1871 and 1900. In subsequent cohorts their proportion fell to below half. The production of German-American priests in the diocesan clergy was a slower process. The seven ordained in the 1901-1910 cohort, for instance, almost equalled all of the German-Americans ordained for the St. Paul diocese in the previous thirty years. A substantial increase in German vocations occured after 1911. In the following decades they produced nearly 30 percent of the local vocations.

To accentuate the difference in the emergence of local vocations among ethnic groups, one may use ratios. This information for the Germans and the Irish is given in Table 4. Thus, in the 1870s the ratio of German to Irish vocations was one to five, in the 1890s one to three, and in the 1920s one to one and a half.

The Cathedral of St. Paul and Bishop's residence about 1860 — on 6th Street between Wabasha and St. Peter avenues. (Minnesota Historical Society)

The present-day St. Paul Cathedral, dedicated in 1915. (Minnesota Historical Society)

An elaborate, well-attended ceremony marked the corner-stone laying (in 1907) of the third and present-day Cathedral of St. Paul. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Ethnic Vocation Productivity

Vocation productivity must also be seen in the context of the Catholic population, specifically the number of German and Irish parishioners in the St. Paul diocese. Unfortunately, the diocese did not conduct an ethnic enumeration of parishioners. Some approximation of the ethnic configuration of the diocese can be gained by using the 1880 Federal census and the 1905 State census. Because we are concerned with native sons in this discussion, I compiled the number of American-born children with parents from Germany and Ireland. To arrive at the number of Catholics, I assumed that a third of the Germans were Catholic and 90 percent of the Irish.[3]

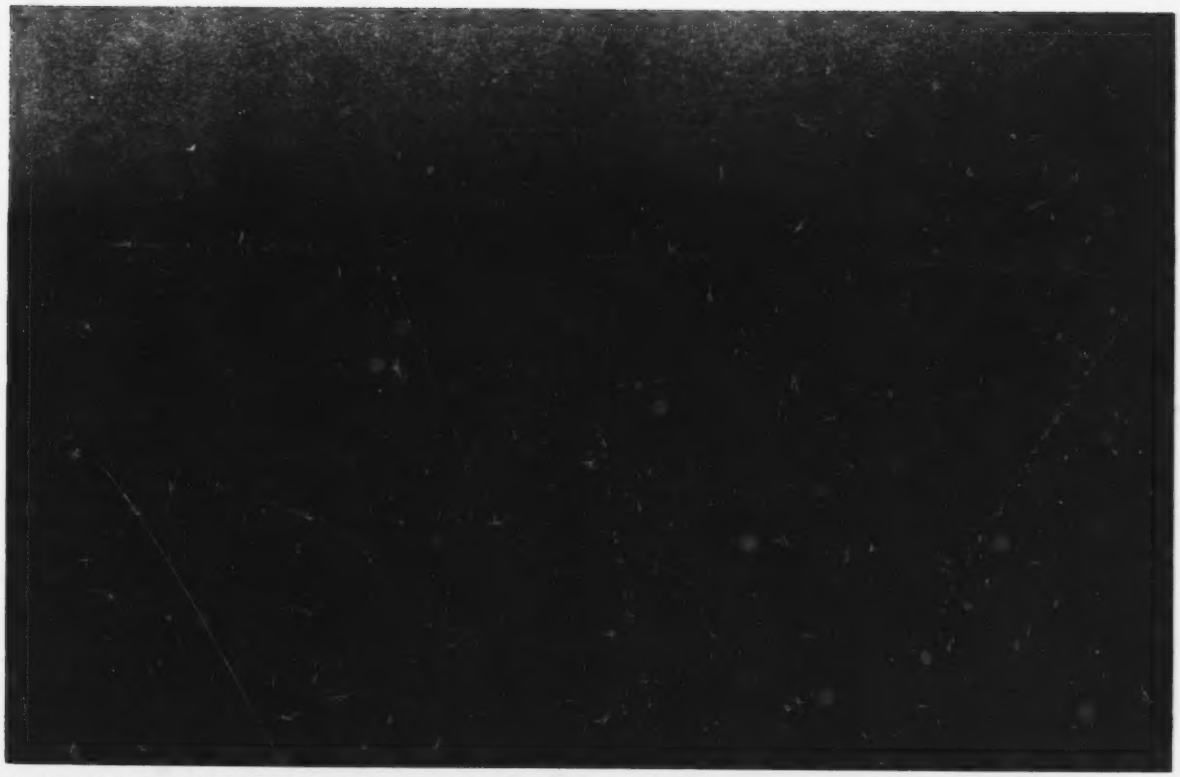
Based on this approximation, in 1880 for every German-American parishioner in the St. Paul diocese there were two Irish-Americans. In the following years the German population surpassed the Irish in the diocese. In 1905, for every Irish-American parishioner there were one and a half German-Americans.

Even after adjusting for differences in population, Irish-Americans still lead on the number of local candidates ordained. In the 1880s the ratio of German to Irish local vocations was one to three; in the first decade of this century, one to two and a half.

Differences in the number and timing of vocations do not end the story. Indeed, they raise an intriguing series of questions for further research. Did the conflict between Archbishop Ireland and the leaders of the German community serve to discourage German-American youths from entering his seminary? What was the pattern of German-American vocations in other dioceses? Were German youths more attracted to religious life in these places? Did German-American youths have more career options in the world than Irish-Americans? To answer these questions satisfactorily is beyond the scope of this paper.

Social Origins of Candidates

The Irish-American candidates tended to be more urban in origin than the German-Americans.



A view of St. Paul in 1857, taken from the intersection of 5th Street and Wabasha. The second Roman Catholic church is seen under construction in the right center of the photograph. (Minnesota Historical Society)

With the passage of time, however, this difference became less pronounced. In the 1880s three quarters of the Irish vocations came from an urban background but only a third of the Germans. In the 1920-1930 cohort 73 percent of the Irish were urban and 63 percent of the Germans.

The occupational background of the candidates' fathers also differed. For the 1911-1920 cohort, to give an example, the occupations of the Irish fathers were 32 percent farmers, 36 percent white collar workers, 9 percent skilled blue collar, and 20 percent unskilled and semi-skilled blue collar workers. For the German fathers the figures were 56 percent farmers, 19 percent white collar, 6 percent skilled, and 19 percent unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

The recruitment of candidates for the priesthood underscores the complexity of the Americanization of the institutional church. Although bishops repeatedly called for the formation of a locally recruited and trained clergy, ethnic groups responded at their own time and pace. Irish-American youths soon flocked to the St. Paul diocesan seminary. German-Americans, in contrast, took yet another generation to accept the invitation to enter the diocesan seminary in more than token numbers. Perhaps German youths were more attracted to vocations in religious orders. To answer this, however, the membership of other religious communities in addition to the Benedictines of St. John's Abbey must be investigated.

This essay has explored only one dimension of careers in the institutional church. Just as important is the response of German-American and Irish-American women to religious life in the convent. Did they respond differently than their brothers to the church's call for vocations?

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Notes

[1]James Hitchcock, "Secular Clergy in Nineteenth Century America: A Diocesan Profile," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* 88 (March-December 1977): 31-62; Daniel P. O'Neill, "St. Paul's Priests, 1851-1930: Recruitment, Ethnicity and Americanization," in *An American Church: Essays on the Americanization of the Catholic Church,* ed. David Alvarez (Moraga, CA, 1979) and "The Development of an American Priesthood: Archbishop Ireland and the St. Paul Diocesan Clergy, 1884-1918," *Journal of American Ethnic History* (forthcoming 1985).

[2]Colman Barry's history of St. John's Abbey, *Work and Worship* (Collegeville, MN 1956), does not examine the origins of the priests in the Benedictine community. Information on Benedictine vocations was obtained from a collection of biographical sketches of the deceased monks of St. John's published in *The Scriptorium,* 15 (June 1956). Additional data was obtained at the Abbey archives (27 June 1983; 9 August 1983).

[3]Kathleen N. Conzen estimates that a third of all German immigrants were of Roman Catholic background in "The Germans," in *The Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups,* ed. Stephen Thernstrom (Cambridge, 1980), p. 417.

German Lutherans in Minnesota

by Karl J. Fink

This conference on German culture in Minnesota is a timely event, not just as an adjunct to the tricentennial celebration marking the migration of the first Germans to America (1683-1983), but also because there comes a time when a topic demands attention, when a community senses an urgency in giving shape and structure to events of the past. There is in this conference clearly a desire, if not also a need, to "set the record straight" concerning vast demographic and ethnic changes occuring in the development of Minnesota and in the role of Germans in that development. There was a time when this desire, if expressed with regard to the study of German cultural values, might have been labelled anti-American or racist and nationalistic; and while this kind of criticism is not likely today, it does explain to some extent why there is a strong sense of urgency about research on the German Lutherans in Minnesota.

The German Lutheran migration into Minnesota began in the second half of the nineteenth century and ran parallel to the rise of German nationalism, which culminated in two World Wars in which public sentiment ran strongly against German forms of culture. It is therefore not surprising that study of topics such as German Lutheran ethnicity in Minnesota has been postponed into the post-World War II era. And even though the present study does not coincide with a special occasion in the story of German Lutheran migration into Minnesota, it does seem appropriate to begin research on the topic; for German Lutherans first settled in the state over a hundred years ago — establishing their first church, Trinity Lutheran Church, in 1855 — and since that time playing a central role in the economic, political, educational and religious life of the state.

We have an excellent start on the topic in Esther Selke's Masters Thesis from 1927 on *The Beginnings of the German Lutheran Churches in Minnesota,* a study covering roughly the first three decades of the topic — the period of rapid demographic growth and expansionism from 1850-1880.[1] On the heels of this thesis came German Nazism, which brought a temporary halt to further study; but not for long, because in the decades following the Selke study the earliest German Lutheran churches in Minnesota began celebrating their seventy-fifth and hundredth anniversaries, initiating one of the best sources of research on the topic. And in the 1960's and 70's there were even more such celebrations; now many parishes have begun to document materials, make photographs, identify records and translate them — and perhaps most significantly, record interviews with individuals acquainted with the earlier phases of parish development. So today extensive grass-roots materials complement the formal sources: the church histories, synod records, and Lutheran magazines available in church and state archives. The time is indeed here for writing more synthetic interpretations on the origin and development of German Lutheran forms of culture in Minnesota.

The first German Lutheran Church in Minnesota, Trinity Lutheran, St. Paul, 1855. *(Geschichte der Minnesota Synode)*

Centennial Celebration, Missouri in Minnesota - 1882-1982. ***(Missouri in Minnesota)***

Suggestions for Systematic Research

In the volume on *A Heritage Deferred: The German-Americans in Minnesota* (1981), two suggestions for initiating systematic research on German Lutherans emerged. One was made by Alan Graebner, who felt that through a process of "parish reconstitution," using both secular and ecclesiastical records, one could speak with authority about developments, at least in a specific community.[2] The assumption is of course that a well-defined set of records needed for such study exists. And even though archives — such as those of the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul and of the American Lutheran Church in Dubuque, Iowa — do house such materials, the approach is very ambitious, as Graebner admits: "The labor involved would be awesome, but I suspect that the rewards would be great."[3] Diana Rankin in the same volume makes a similar, although less ambitious proposal. She suggests the study of community behaviour, using a "folklorist" approach in which interviews and field work would complement archival research and would "raise the consciousness of the informants and of other group members, giving them an opportunity to identify with their immigrant heritage."[4] These two studies provide us with good strategies for systematic research of German Lutherans in Minnesota but they also leave open questions concerning which parishes to study, what topics are of significance for such study, and finally questions about the state of resources available on these particular parishes and topics.

Most surveys of Lutheranism and of German ethnicity in America would support the need for studies of the kind suggested by Graebner and Rankin. Abdel Wentz, in *A Basic History of Lutheranism in America* (1964), devotes only a short chapter of seven pages to the German Lutherans in Minnesota — and then only from the viewpoint that historically smaller church bodies evolved into larger organizations.[5] That is, Wentz wrote from an organizational point of view which yields little information on the ethnic dimensions of the topic; the emphasis is on a "growing Lutheran solidarity."[6] E. Clifford Nelson's volume on the *Lutherans in North America* (1980) avoids this single and rather narrow perspective, and thus offers the reader various topics of interest: on German Lutheran colonists, on German language maintenance through the church, and on related topics such as German newspapers, schools, seminaries, and other social organizations such as singing clubs.[7]

And while the volume edited by Nelson offers a survey of perspectives from which one could study German Lutheranism in Minnesota, further investigation into some of these topics would be unlikely to yield significant results when applied to the study of German Lutherans in Minnesota. That is, it is not likely, for example, that the language experience among German Lutherans in Minnesota would be significantly different from that of other German Lutheran groups which settled in earlier periods and other places over the 300 years of migration from Germany to the

United States. Indeed, recent discussions in church history, such as may be found in Leigh D. Jordahl's essay on "American Lutheranism: Ethos, Style, and Policy" (1979),[8] would suggest that religious conservatism and cultural isolationism was common among German Lutherans throughout the Midwest so that the particularism of subcultures rather than the unity of a culture should have primary attention, especially for study of the origins of the German Lutheran ethnicity in Minnesota.[9] And yet a social science approach to the study of a religious ethnic group has been around a long time, at least since the turn of the century. Max Weber published his study of *Die Protestantische Ethik* in 1904-05, a study in which it is argued that the spirit of capitalism and, hence, the structure of modern Western society, is based in part on Martin Luther's concept of a "calling" (Berufskonzeption).[10]

Where Do We Begin?

Where then do we begin in our efforts to do a study of the ethos of German Lutheran communities in Minnesota? My decision was to begin by trying to survey and evaluate the types of resources available on the topic of German Lutherans in Minnesota, and then try to assess the appropriate entry level which these resources would provide for study of a particular community. That is, in some cases one must go directly to the parish for information; in others the entry level is at the church archives; and in still others the starting point is the synod headquarters or at some other level of the church hierarchy. The state of source material on a particular community would determine the appropriate entry level; in general it is safe to assume that the older the parish the more likely it is that brief histories exist and that even state archives have some resources. Indeed, this diversified condition of resource materials preempts the first statement that can be made about the German Lutherans in Minnesota: German Lutheran ethnicity in Minnesota had no unity, and its diversity is an index of the state of resource materials which varies from one synodical group to the next. The most characteristic feature of German Lutheran ethnicity in Minnesota is its particularism, which was shaped by organized church bodies in neighboring states. This preliminary survey of materials would indicate that resource materials are in a condition directly proportional to the diversified condition of German Lutheranism in Minnesota during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Although Minnesota would boast a synod as early as 1869,[11] only five years after the first German Lutheran church was established in St. Paul, the most characteristic feature of German Lutheranism in Minnesota is its lack of ethnic identity through a single organized Lutheran Church body. The story of why particularism reigned among the German Lutheran communities in Minnesota, to a greater extent than in other states of the "Northwest Land," is complex; but for purposes of this study it is important to note at the outset that the Minnesota Synod, from its inception, never attained a strong German ethnic leadership, or a theological one for that matter. The state was from the beginning targeted as a mission field by Lutheran synods from neighboring states, which in some cases had a ten-year head start in forming support organizations such as schools, colleges, and seminaries. This support system was essential to the expansion of the church organization and to shaping communities of German Lutheran immigrants.

In the first years the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods presented the most agressive threat to the development of a strong Minnesota German Lutheran ethos; and later, in the 1870's and 80's, the Iowa Synod expanded its territory to include large portions of southern Minnesota.[12] So the first step in studying parish structure and behavior is to determine the state of information on the communities associated with these church organizations; in the case of the older parishes there are more materials on anniversary celebrations and in cases where parishes were founded later, particularly among those of Iowa Synod, there has been less effort to synthesize and collect information. In all cases there are archival locations devoted to the collection of primary materials.[13] It is hoped that from the following examples of my search and selection of materials on the topic we are brought one step further in the effort to make a statement about the nature of German Lutheran ethnicity in Minnesota.

The Pioneers of German Lutheranism

According to Selke there were six German Lutheran preachers who arrived with immigrants in the first wave of migration into the state, a movement which followed the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota in 1851.[14] Five of them were free-lance preachers with no clear church connections, and one was sent by the Missouri Synod to bring Lutheranism to the Chippewa Indians. Three of the five free-lance preachers had no theological training; four of them were more farmer than preacher; and only two of these five

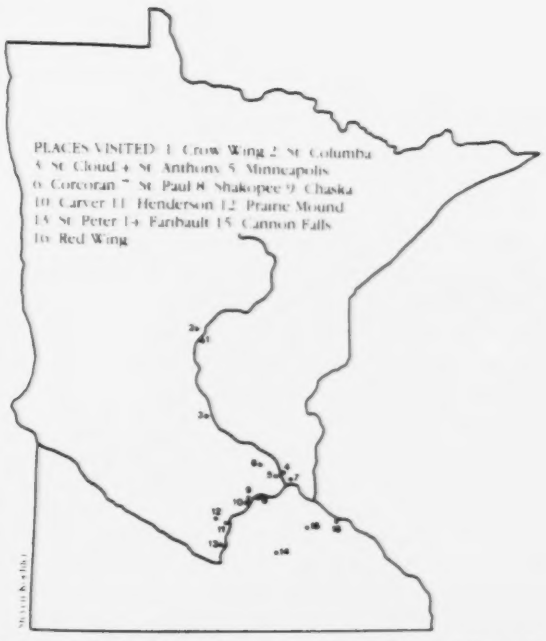
German Lutheran Pioneer Preacher Wilhelm Wier, 1815-1890. ***(Geschichte der Minnesota Synode)***

established parishes which would become centers of German Lutheran ethnicity in Minnesota. These centers include the three parishes founded by one of the two trained preachers, Wilhelm Wier (1815-90): Trinity Lutheran Church in St. Paul (1855), St. John's Lutheran Church at Baytown (1855), and Emmanuel's Lutheran Church near Inver Grove (1856). One was organized by the other trained preacher, Lebrecht Friedrich Ehregott Krause (1805-1885), St. Martin's Lutheran Church in Winona (1856). And since these two pioneer preachers and four parishes represent the beginning of German Lutheran ethnicity in Minnesota, it seems reasonable that any study of such subculture begin here. Such a study would to some extent also deal with the particularism of the German ethos: Trinity and St. John Lutheran churches eventually became members of the Wisconsin Synod, while Emmanuel and St. Martin became part of the Minnesota Synod — a development which represents an interesting story of its own. In fact, comparative study of these four parishes would yield an important statement on the history of German Lutheranism in Minnesota.

The First Ten Years

In 1850 the Federal Census listed a Minnesota population of 6,077, and ten years later one of

The Second German Lutheran Church in Minnesota, St. John's Lutheran, Baytown, 1855. ***(Geschichte der Minnesota Synode)***


PLACES VISITED: 1. Crow Wing 2. St. Columba
3. St. Cloud 4. St. Anthony 5. Minneapolis
6. Corcoran 7. St. Paul 8. Shakopee 9. Chaska
10. Carver 11. Henderson 12. Prairie Mound
13. St. Peter 14. Faribault 15. Cannon Falls
16. Red Wing

Sievers' Exploratory Journey for the Missouri Synod, 1856. *(Missouri in Minnesota)*

172,023, of which 18,400, (about eleven percent), were German. With this demographic change came a burst of missionary activity, so that by the tenth anniversary of the first German Lutheran church in Minnesota — that of Trinity Lutheran church in St. Paul — there were five active synods in Minnesota, each one working independently to organize parishes and to provide spiritual as well as economic, political and educational leadership for pioneer settlements and growing urban communities. A rank order of these synods, in terms of their significance for sustaining German-Lutheran ethnicity, would begin with the Missouri Synod (1847), which would be followed by the Wisconsin Synod (1850), the Iowa Synod (1854), and finally the Minnesota Synod (1860). The Ohio Synod (1818) does not seem to have played a significant role in the maintenance of German Lutheranism; it may be viewed along with a sixth, the Buffalo Synod (1845), as simply an established Eastern Lutheran church body which provided advice and clerical assistance to the younger, developing church organizations in the "Northwest Land." This arbitrary ranking of synods is not a statement about the number of congregations in each organization, or about the quality of spiritual and religious service provided for the people of Minnesota. It simply represents an evaluative judgement about the degree of German ethnicity maintained by those church organizations. It is a ranking perhaps only useful in identifying the best possible sources for study of the first decades of German Lutheran migration into Minnesota. And from among the sources available on the topic, it seems that those by the Missouri Synod offer the most definitive statements about German Lutheran ethnicity in Minnesota; those by the Iowa Synod represent greater need for research and study, and — from the scholar's point of view — greater opportunity for writing and interpretation.

And what significance is there in marking the first ten years of German Lutheran culture in Minnesota as a particular phase or epoch? It was in this period that the character of this subculture developed, namely one of diversity and separation and one lacking in ethnic unity and religious leadership. Each synod mapped out distinct communities, towns, parishes, and (to some extent) regions with which they stamped their particular ethos and polity. In 1856 Ferdinand Sievers' (1816-93) exploratory journey for the Missouri Synod started as far north as Crow Wing and St. Columbia, but it was concentrated along the Mississippi River from St. Anthony to St. Peter on the Minnesota River.[15] At the same time that the Missouri Synod was mapping out regions of interest to them, we see an attempt to organize a Minnesota Synod around the early German Lutheran parishes — an effort led by "the old Missionary," Johann Heyer (1793-1873), who was called in 1857 to serve Trinity Lutheran Church and was then instrumental in organizing the Synod.[16] Although

Minnesota Synod Organizer Johann Heyer, 1793-1873. *(Golden Jubilee History)*

another pastor, Adam Blumer (n.d.), who later supported the Wisconsin Synod in Minnesota, was the prime mover in forming the Minnesota Synod. It was still the Old Missionary who gave the Synod its stamp by bringing to it the "unionistic" tendencies of the General Synod in the east; Heyer worked for a Lutheran synod without strong ethnic identity and with theological unity — in other words, an organization for all Lutherans in Minnesota, not for German Lutherans in particular. Thus, while there are old German Lutheran parishes in the Minnesota Synod of 1860, the entry level of research on these parishes remains local. the entry level of parishes belonging to the Missouri, Wisconsin, and Iowa Synods is less diffuse: in some cases there are excellent monographs and in others there are materials available in church archives, but they are in need of interpretation. In addition there is a good chance — in all cases where the parish has passed beyond a centennial celebration — that there will be available at least a brief history of that particular parish. From these histories, and from the individuals who wrote them, we have a start for the reconstitution of German Lutheran parishes, as well as for the interviews and study of community behavior needed for a folklorist's interpretation of ethnic life.

There is one more reason why we would make the ten years ending with 1865 a significant phase in the development of a German Lutheran ethos in Minnesota. This date marks the earliest record indicating that the Iowa Synod had officially sent its first missionary, Pastor Michael L. Reck (1835-1910), into the southern part of the state to organize the growing number of German families there into parishes. And while there are some excellent sources on the history and development of the Iowa Synod,[17] these parishes organized by a Synod from a neighboring state once more remind us of the particularism, not only in source material but also in the ethnic picture of German Lutheran culture in this state. This aspect of the topic reminds us that any attempt at a holistic, synthetic study would require investigation of yet one more body of archival material, that of the Iowa Synod, and study of yet one more list of parishes.

But let us put a positive construction on this state of research: it is quite possible that this diversity among German groups in Minnesota gives us an opportunity to do comparative research. With this diversity we can discover, for example, the **least** and **most** common denominators of German Lutheran community life. That is, characteristic features of German Lutheran parishes of the Iowa Synod, for example, might better be studied against the background of other organized church groups than in a region where

Minnesota Synod Organizer Adam Blumer. ***(Geschichte der Minnesota Synode)***

parishes of the Iowa Synod dominate. Thus the identification of the least and most common denominators in comparison of parishes and synods would guide us in our efforts to reconstitute the parishes, as suggested by Graebner, and to study community behavior, as suggested by Rankin.

Common Denominators of German Lutheran Ethnicity

The following discussion is based on a review of centennial documents acquired from parish pastors in Minnesota, from memoirs sent to me from the American Lutheran Church Archives in Dubuque, and from published synod histories available through the respective church offices. In addition, the discussion is based on materials discovered in German libraries, particularly in the Staatsbibliothek in Göttingen. In other words, the following discussion represents the topics commonly found in the documents on German Lutheran ethnic life in Minnesota, which were written in the decades of and immediately following "the first ten years." These topics represent the central features of a heritage which is in need of definition and description.

Chippewa Indian Missionary Ernest Ottomar Cloeter, 1825-1897. ***(Missouri in Minnesota)***

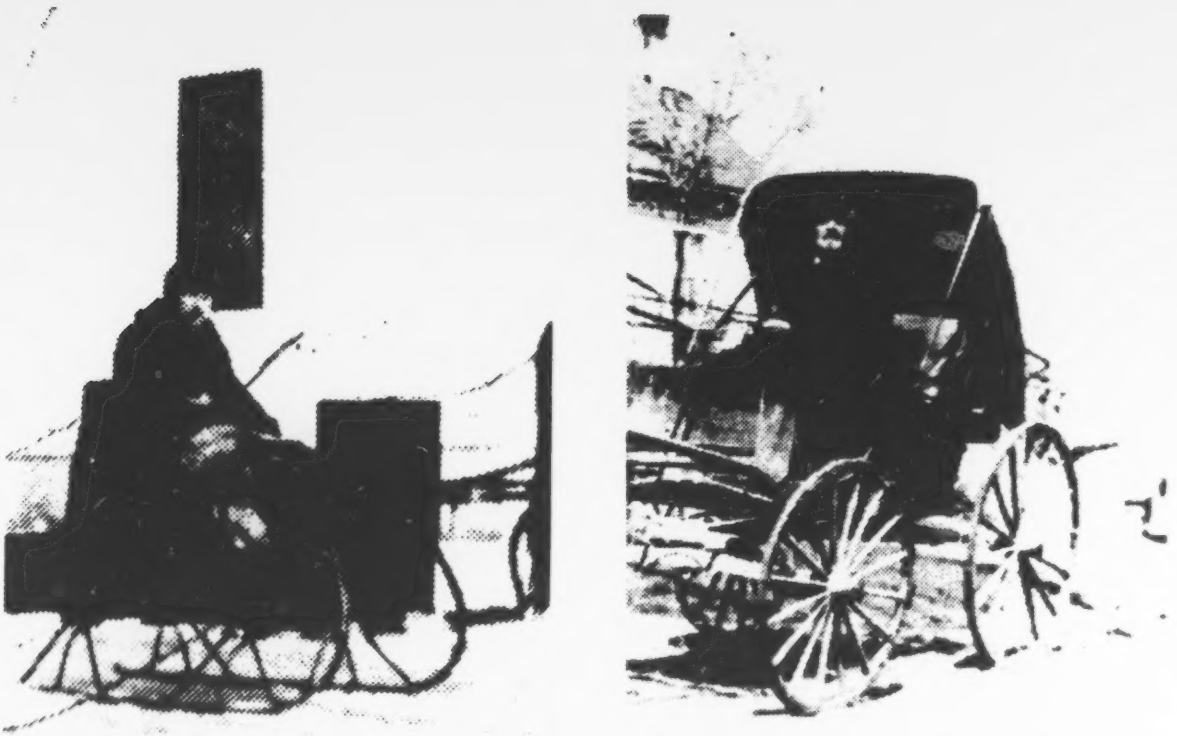
Indian Missions

While attempts to christianize the Indians, that is, to integrate them into the value system of German-American culture, was a concern of organized Lutheran bodies in Minnesota, the effort is largely associated with a representative of the Missouri Synod, Ernest Ottomar Cloeter (1825-97).[18] His Mission at "Parallel Waters" (Gabitawigama) in Crow Wing County lasted from 1857-62, ending with the Sioux uprising which was centered in New Ulm but spread also to the Chippewa Indians along the upper Mississippi River. Learning the Chippewa language, selecting the Mission site, funding the project, translating the values of Christianity into those of the Indian culture, and providing for the safety and well-being of his family are all part of the picture in which German Lutherans met the native American culture of the nineteenth century. This topic of German Lutheran ethnic life merits closer attention, not only for historical and biographical reasons but for better understanding the problems associated with the merger of two cultures with vastly different sets of values. There remains much to be learned from the experiences of the German-Lutheran encounter with the Chippewa Indians in Minnesota in the nineteenth century. The topic is more about failure than success, but it is one which has been deferred and awaits fulfillment, an aspect of the German Lutheran heritage with potential for development.

Home Missions

Of equal interest is the story of how religious service came to isolated individuals, a story which tells of how families were molded into communities with common goals and aspirations. Here, too, there are individuals who merit biographical study: those like Karl Schulze (? - 1903) who played a central role for the Missouri Synod in organizing parishes on the prairies of southwestern Minnesota; Heinrich Vetter (1842-1907), who for the Missouri Synod at one time served five hundred families in forty-two different places in central Minnesota; or Pastor Reck, who for the Iowa Synod established the first parishes in southern Minnesota, along the Iowa border. Especially in the memoirs of the latter figure there are records of prairie experiences common to those of all German Lutheran communities in Minnesota: the hardships of the traveling preacher, the negotiations for mission territory among competing preachers, problems

Home Mission Preacher Heinrich Vetter, 1842-1907. ***(Missouri in Minnesota)***



Vehicles of the Traveling Preacher, Buggy and Sleigh, ca. 1870. ***(Missouri in Minnesota)***

in retention of parish constituency, the type of lay leadership required for the community, as well as functional decisions involving the physical, economic, and political structure of the community.

In the memoirs of Pastor Reck we have an extensive record of the process by which the German Lutheran communities took root in Minnesota.[19] From his experiences in the 1860's we have records of the competetive spirit amongst Protestant sects, particularly the Lutheran view toward the Methodist home mission work. "It appears that I may have trouble with the Methodists. There was a man here from Rice Lake, a German settlement, where Methodists are working. I was asked to go there, perhaps there were still some that could be won back to the right way."[20] In a later passage Reck's concerns are expressed more directly. "The Albrech-Methodists dedicated their church February 17 in Blue Earth, and the following was reported: There was more singing than praying. There was crying and shouting; because they have the opinion that at such an occasion the Holy Spirit is present in greater and mightier form than at other times, but also the evil one, and he must be scared with noise to give place to the Holy One."[21] Elsewhere Reck reports how upon arrival in Owatonna he learned of a Rev. Herzer, "a Missourian," who had a parish in Claremont about ten miles east of Owatonna, and with whom Reck felt he might negotiate territorial claims for home missions: "Herzer is twenty-four years old; he arrived here just several months ago from seminary. He did his utmost to down the Iowans and uphold the Missourians. Yet, in all, I took a liking to him. I wanted to arrange with him so our work would not conflict. I learned that there were six counties in southern Minnesota where no Lutheran pastor is doing any mission work; so I considered these as my mission field."[22]

The Parochial School

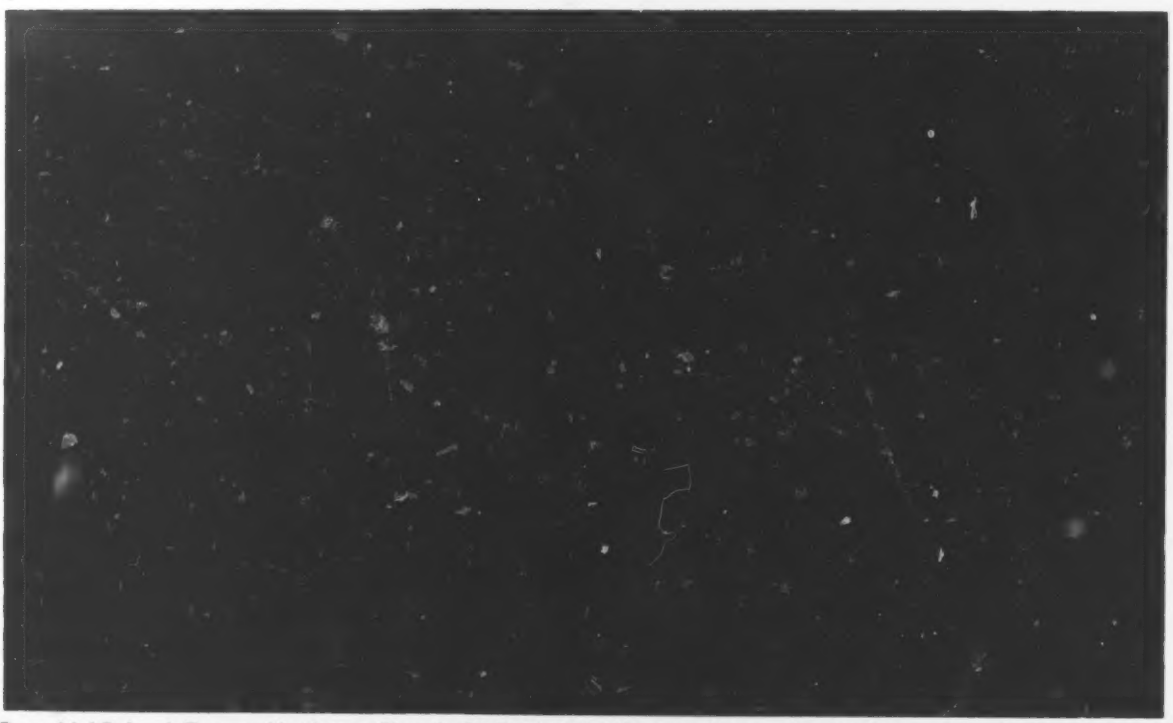
One of the central themes in materials on the origin of German Lutheran communities is the maintenance of religious and ethnic unity through primary and secondary schools, as well as through colleges and seminaries needed to train preachers and teachers who would sustain these local parish schools. In terms of significance for German Lutheranism in Minnesota, one would begin with Dr. Martin Luther College in New Ulm, a center for learning founded by the Wisconsin Synod in 1887, and Concordia College in St. Paul, founded by the Missouri Synod in 1894. A comparison of these two institutions, as well as a study of their

individual roles in providing for the needs of parochial education, is fundamental to the study of parish reconstitution and community behavior. It seems that nowhere could ethnicity be more clearly traced than in the programs of the teachers and preachers in a community. Indeed, the typical parish provided not only a church but also a school — and in some cases separate housing for the teacher and the pastor. These parochial schools can be found in rural parishes such as the one associated with Zion Lutheran Church in Sanborn, founded in 1903 by the Minnesota Synod, or the one associated with Emanuel Lutheran Church, established by the Wisconsin Synod in 1915 in St. Paul. In addition to the curriculum, one might take a closer look at the lists of names in graduating classes as a means of identifying individuals around whom traditions of leadership developed.

Church Art and Architecture

Although many churches founded in the early period of German Lutheranism in Minnesota today boast new structures, resource materials illustrate a great variety of interior and exterior design in the original structure of the nineteenth century. Seating patterns of men, women, and children, the location and design of the light fixtures, the type and structure of heating facilities, as well as the location and design of the alter and pulpit and other religious icons are preserved in many local church anniversary documents. Often the tastes and wealth of a community are reflected in the design and structure of the churches, and in some cases one

Old Main, Dr. Martin Luther College, New Ulm, 1887. ***(You and Your Synod)***



Parochial School, Emanuel Lutheran Church, St. Paul, 1915. ***(Emanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church,*** **Custom Book)**

can trace the development of community wealth and strength through the modified and expanded structures of the parish. In many ways the spatial and environmental dimensions of both churches and schools reflect the most tangible aspect of the German Lutheran culture in Minnesota. In it we see the variety, diversity, and independence of these communities. Indeed, questions about environmental and spatial design lead to two further topics common to most sources on German Lutheran parishes: the life of the preacher-farmer and the urbanization of rural parishes. In some cases the parish included a church and school, along with houses for the teacher and the preacher, as well as a set of farm buildings which provided the parish staff with resources for stabilizing the economic life of these community leaders. In parishes where urbanization brought quick demographic changes, the environmental and spatial dimensions changed accordingly: they changed from farms to factory. Thus the extended parish site reflects changes occuring in the German Lutheran community which brought it into contact with other ethnic groups, identifying that juncture where a particular ethnicity disolved into typical patterns of American life.

In summary, while the value of case studies on parish reconstitution and community behavior would be very beneficial, there still are a number of preliminary questions which ought to be asked. The goal of this study has been to ask two of these questions: to try to identify the parishes with the longest traditions of a German Lutheran ethos, and secondly to discuss topics common to sources available on such communities. In both matters, in identifying the oldest parishes and in discussing a few central topics, additional work is needed such as perhaps chronologically ranking all German Lutheran parishes in the order in which they were founded, especially those founded in the period 1855 to 1890, the period of diversity and individuality. This period precedes the one of the great church mergers, the tendency toward Lutheran solidarity, and in it we are likely to find greater evidence of German Lutheran ethnicity than in parishes founded after the turn of the century. The present study has tried to give some direction to the state of research on German Lutheran ethnicity, as well as to the object of the research itself, to the diversity and particularism in German Lutheran ethnicity in Minnesota.

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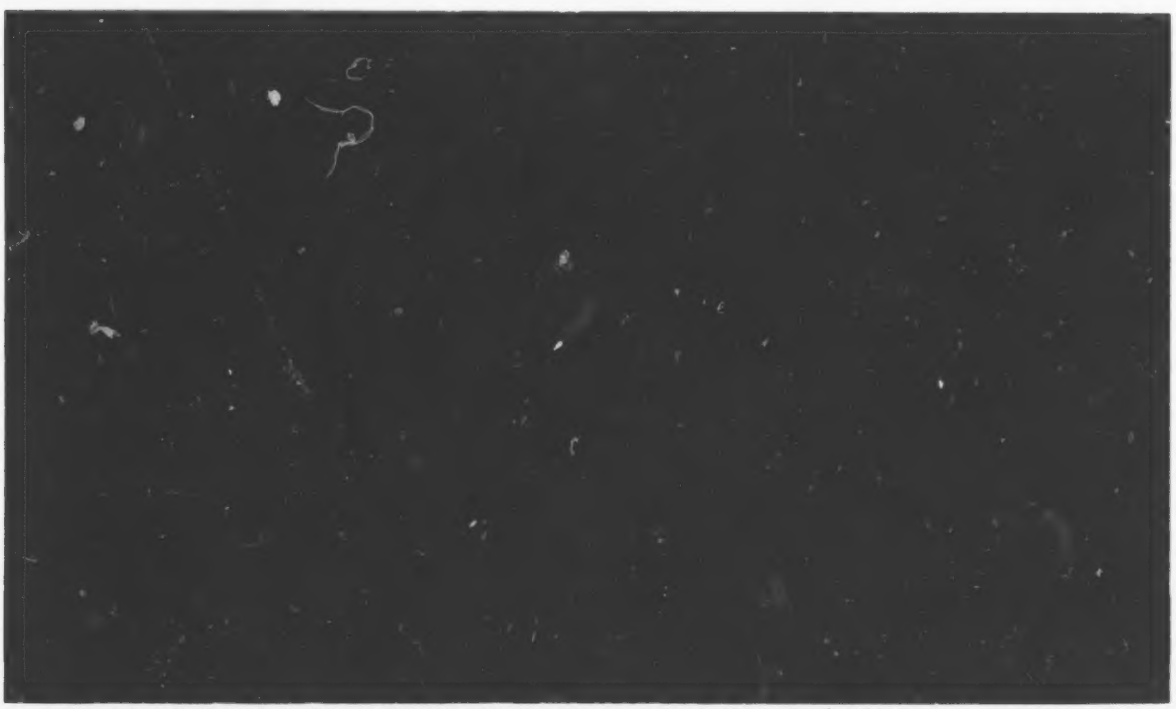

Church Interior, St. Peter's Lutheran Church, Delmont, South Dakota, 1902. ***(75th Anniversary, St. Peter Lutheran Church)***

Notes

[1]Ester Selke, *The Beginnings of the German Lutheran Churches in Minnesota with a Sketch of Their Development* (University of Minnesota Thesis, 1927).

[2]Alan Graebner, "Alternate Research Strategies," in: *A Heritage Deferred: The German-Americans in Minnesota,* eds. Clarence A. Glasrud and Diana Rankin (Moorhead: Concordia College, 1981), pp. 95-97.

[3]Graebner, "Alternate Research Strategies" (1981), p. 97.

[4]Diana Rankin, "The Etnicity and Religion: The German-American Experience," in *A Heritage Deferred* (1981), p. 101.

[5]Abdel R. Wentz, "German Mergers in the Northwest," in *A Basic History of Lutheranism in America,* rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), pp. 262-268.

[6]Wentz, p. 262.

[7]E. Clifford Nelson, ed., *The Lutherans in North America* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), pp. 21-38, 41-43, 95-99, 134-35, 173-83, 365-68.

[8]Leigh D. Jordahl, "American Lutheranism: Ethos, Style, and Polity," in *The Lutheran Church in North America,* eds. John E. Groh and Robert H. Smith (St. Louis: Clayton, 1979), pp. 33-55.

[9]Jordahl, p. 41.

[10]Max Weber, *Die Protestantische Ethik,* ed. Johannes Winckelmann (Hamburg: Siebenstern, 1975), pp. 66-114.

[11]*Geschichte der Minnesota-Synode und ihrer einzelnen Gemeinden* (St. Louis: Lange, 1910).

[12]There is to my knowledge no historical study of Iowa and Wisconsin Synod activity in Minnesota, although good sources are available: for example, in Manfred J. Lenz, *Golden Jubilee History of the Minnesota District of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod and Its Member Congregations* (Minneapolis: Ad Art, 1968), and C.G. Eisenberg, *History of the First Dakota-District of the Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Iowa and Other States,* trans. Anton H. Richter (Washington: Unviersity Press of America, 1982). A model study of German Lutheranism in Minnesota is Glenn W. Offermann, *Missouri in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: Bolger Publications, 1982).

[13]For archival information on the Iowa Synod write to Robert C. Wiederaenders, The American Lutheran Church, 333 Wartburg Place, Dubuque, Iowa, 52001; for the Missouri Synod write to Dr. Glenn Offermann, Concordia College, Hamline and Marshall, St. Paul, Minnesota, 55104; and for archival information concerning the role of the Wisconsin Synod in Minnesota, write to the Director of Library Services at Dr. Martin Luther College in New Ulm, Minnesota.

[14]Joseph A.A. Burnquist, *Minnesota and its People,* 4 vols. (Chicago: Clarke, 1924), Vol. I, pp. 79-97.

[15]Offermann, p. 9.

[16]*Geschichte der Minnesota-Synode* (1910), pp. 1-51.

[17]See F. Braun, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Iowa und andern Staaten, 1854-1929* (Chicago: Wartburg, 1929), and Johannes Deindörfer, *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Evangel.-Luth. Synode von Iowa und andern Staaten* (Chicago: Wartburg, 1904), as well as more broadly based studies such as Philipp Schaff, *Amerika. Die Politischen, Sozialen und Kirchlich-religiösen* Zustände (Berlin: Wiegandt, 1854).

[18]See Offermann, pp. 17-21, and Deindörfer, pp. 16-18, and Braun, pp. 52-53.

[19]Reck, Michael L., *Memoirs,* trans. Frederich and Wanda Reck (Dubuque: American Lutheran Church Archives, 1954).

[20]Reck, p. 22.

[21]Reck, p. 38.

[22]Reck, p. 28.

German Jews in Minnesota: 1845-1910

by Marilyn J. Chiat and Chester Proshan

In papers presented at the two prior conferences on the German-American heritage in Minnesota, most participants agreed that the German experience in Minnesota has been diverse, not singular. This paper will examine one group who contributed to the diversity of the German experience in Minnesota - German Jews. It will focus on German Jews who settled in Minnesota during the second half of the 1800s and the early 1900s, discussing their experience within the larger context of the experiences of Jews in Germany, and of German Jews in the United States during the nineteenth century.

We will begin by prefacing our discussion with three pieces of background information. First, our definition of the term German Jews: those Jews who resided in the areas of Europe that in 1871 became the German Empire, including Poznan that for a time was a part of Poland.

Second, a word regarding the origin of this paper. What we are presenting is an outgrowth of an ongoing research project to document Jewish settlers in nineteenth century Minnesota, a project co-sponsored by the Ancient Near East and Jewish Studies Program at the University of Minnesota and the Minnesota-Dakotas region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc. The project's initial focus has been on the northeastern sector of Minnesota, the Iron Range; thus, the entire state's Jewish population has yet to be studied. As a consequence, this paper must be viewed as a work-in-progress.

Finally, an observation about our motivation for writing this paper. An important question raised at the earlier conferences was, "Why study the German ethnic experience in Minnesota at all?" Professor Don Ward, one of the participants, provided a good response to this question. Pointing to the need for the retention of ethnic pride in America, he said that "ethnic groups [must] call attention to their contributions from the past, so that they will be better prepared to cherish and nurture their own cultural heritage in the future."[1] This response can be expanded. Respect for cultural pluralism in the United States is further reason for studying ethnic groups. It is not enough for members of an ethnic group to be made aware of their cultural heritage. Those outside the group must also recognize the contributions of that group to the pluralism that gives our nation its multifaceted character. For only through understanding one another's ethnic heritage, and accepting the heterogeneous character of our nation's cultural composition, can we prevent the re-occurrance of the terrible wrongs of recent American history — such as the over-zealousness of those who in 1917 created the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety that harassed non-English speaking immigrants, especially Germans.

Jews in Germany: 1800-1900

At the beginning of the nineteenth century 125,000 to 150,000 Jews resided in Germany; by 1871 their numbers had increased to 512,000, and by 1900 to 587,000. Even with this surge in population, which was unprecedented in Jewish history, the percentage of Jews in the population of Germany remained practically stable due to the equally rapid increase of the German population as a whole. In 1800 Jews comprised approximately 1% of Germany's total population, in 1871 1.25%, in 1900 1.04%. For the greater part of the century, the majority of Jews resided in Prussia and Bavaria, and — in progressively lesser numbers — Alsace-Lorraine, Baden, Hesse, and Württemberg — living mostly in small towns and villages.[2] To illustrate the second point, in Württemberg in 1846 there were a total of 12,000 Jews, 10,000 of whom lived in small villages.[3] By the end of the century, however, the majority of the Jewish population lived in large cities including Hamburg and Frankfurt-am-Main and, most importantly, Berlin — where by this time one-third of all German Jews resided.[4]

A prominent theme in Jewish experience in nineteenth century Germany was the separation of the Jewish people from mainstream society. In

the political realm, coming into the nineteenth century, those states that later were to form the German Empire had either expelled Jewry from their borders or treated Jews as a disenfranchised minority.[5] The granting of full civil rights to the Jewish people was not considered primarily for two reasons: First, Christianity's and Judaism's longstanding hostility toward one another, and second, the belief that the Jewish people constituted a nation living in exile and were, therefore, only sojourners in Germany. Over the course of the century this situation changed. In the wake of the French Revolution — and its introduction of egalitarianism and the Age of Enlightenment and the attitudinal changes it brought toward religion — Jewry was granted limited civil rights in some German states by 1860. However, Jews never received full and complete civil rights in Germany until the Weimar Republic.[6]

In the economic realm, Jews had been invited into Germany in the Middle Ages in order to provide needed financial and commercial services that were considered inappropriate for Germans to perform.[7] Thus, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, most gainfully-employed Jewish workers were in occupations related to commerce and business. As the century progressed, their concentration in these areas became distasteful to German authorities, who now insisted that as a qualification for full emancipation Jews find occupations in less "morally degrading" fields, such as agriculture and handicrafts. Ironically, these were two occupations that German legislation had long prohibited Jews from entering.[8] Efforts were made by many Jews to try to change their occupational patterns in order to ensure their being granted full civil rights. But statistics suggest that these efforts were less than successful. For example, in 1895 the fields of business and commerce employed 56% of the Jewish labor force in Germany, while only 1.4% worked in agriculture and 19.3% in industry. In contrast, 36% of the German labor force worked in agriculture, 36% in industry, and only 10% in business and commerce.[9]

In the area of religion, classical Judaism, which was what most German Jews were practicing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was viewed by Germans as being too particularistic. Its ritual and liturgy were judged alien to German culture, as well as anachronistic. The ideal, as viewed by many Germans, was the conversion of the Jewish population; and if not that, at the very least a modernization and Germanization of its religion.[10] The Jewish people responded to this pressure in a variety of ways. Few chose outright conversion to Christianity. Some retained their ties to classical Judaism, particularly those residing in Germany's rural areas and in Poznan. Others organized a move toward religious reform that ultimately went in two directions. One, known as Neo-orthodoxy, maintained the traditional liturgy and ritual but emphasized aspects of Judaism which were considered more meaningful in the contemporary world. The center of this movement was Frankfurt-am-Main.[11] The other, which is now known as the Reform Movement, was an attempt to liberalize and modernize Jewish liturgy and ritual; it received its main support from Jews living in Germany's large urban areas, especially in Prussia. Pressure for religious reform, internal and external, had its effect on the Jewish population, as can be seen by the fact that by the end of the nineteenth century over 80% of the Jews living in Germany identified with the Reform Movement.[12]

Socially and culturally, at the start of the nineteenth century, German Jewry did not seek nor did Germans want them to seek assimilation. Jews and Germans had little contact outside the workplace.[13] For example, Jews did not send their children to German schools; instead, their children attended Jewish schools and *yeshivot,* Jewish talmudic academies.[14] Jews and Germans were also separated linguistically. Most Jews had Yiddish, a low German dialect interspersed with Hebrew and a number of other languages, as their first language.[15]

This situation changed, however, as the century progressed. As a prominent German- Jewish intellectual of the time wrote, a number of Jews ". . . attached themselves with all their hearts to the German nation. . ."[16] For instance, by 1900 many Jewish students were attending German public schools and using German as their primary language.[17] Yet the century ended with few Jewish people achieving complete cultural and social assimilation without first abandoning their Jewish identity.

As a consequence of being separated from mainstream German society, Jews experienced a great population dislocation in Germany during the nineteenth century, which took the form of emigration as well as migration. Early in the century, Jews were dislocated primarily in south and southwestern Germany. In Bavaria, for instance, the so-called *matrikelzwang* laws granted only the eldest son of every Jewish family the right of residence, so that all the other children were more or less compelled to emigrate or migrate. As a result, before 1861 when the laws were finally repealed, more than half of the Jewish population had left Bavaria.[18]

During the second half of the nineteenth century, German Jewish population dislocation moved north to Prussia and Poznan. Factors that contributed to Jews being uprooted in these states included heavy taxes, conscription into the German army, and continued persecution.[19]

A portrait of Leopold Weiskopf, who was born in Bohemia and educated at the University of Bohemia. He immigrated to Charleston, South Carolina in 1846 and moved to Minneapolis following the Civil War. Weiskopf served in the South Carolina home Guard during the Civil War. His family was active in Sharri Tov. This portrait was painted in Charleston. (Photograph courtesy of Project to Document Jewish Settlers in Minnesota)

A portrait of Mrs. Leopold (Rosa) Weiskopf, who was born in Bohemia. Her portrait was painted in Charleston. (Photograph courtesy of Project to Document Jewish Settlers in Minnesota)

German Jews in America: 1800-1900

Of the hundreds and thousands of German Jews who were dislocated during the nineteenth century, approximately 150,000 came to the United States. The peak years of their emigration were 1820-1870, with the greatest number arriving in the 1840s. [20] Most Jewish immigrants from Germany were single men in their late twenties and early thirties from small towns, villages, and rural areas in south and southwestern Germany. Some had a public school education and were in the trades, but were either unemployed or underemployed. Many became part of America's westward expansion, first settling along the Ohio River Valley and later in the Mississipi River Valley, especially in major cities including Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Louisville.[21] Jewish professionals and intellectuals, secular as well as religious, from the larger urban areas never emigrated in large numbers.[22]

While on the whole German Jews were more assimilated in America than they were in Germany in the nineteenth century, they were not completely integrated into the American mainstream. Politically, while under law — through the Federal Constitution — Jews had been granted full equality, in reality such was not the case. As late as 1820 only seven of the thirteen original states had recognized Jews in the political sense. For example, Maryland Jews could not vote or hold public office until well into the nineteenth century.[23]

In the economic realm, as in Germany, most German Jews in the United States were involved in commerce. It is estimated that at some time or other in their careers about fifty percent of the wage-earning Jewish immigrants from Germany were peddlers. Few were in agriculture, the professions, or held the higher ranks in the military.[24]

With regard to religion, German Jews worshipped in the United States without fear of persecution. Most observant German-Jewish immigrants belonged to one of the two reform movements that originated in Germany, and for the same reasons their co-religionists in the old country did: to conform as much as possible to the religious norm of the host society.[25]

Finally, the cultural and social experiences of these immigrants can be best understood within the larger context of German immigrant experience in the United States. Not only did the German-Jewish immigrants settle in the same regions as other Germans, they also had better relations and more contact with their German neighbors in America than in Germany. Moreover, Jewish immigrants often subscribed to many

Sharri Tov, later renamed Temple Israel, was founded in 1878. The first building was located at 501-503 Tenth Street South, Minneapolis; it was in use from 1880 until it was badly damaged by fire in 1902. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Temple Israel, second building, built on same site as the original building, was in use from 1903-1928. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Chapel of the Montefiore Burial Association, located at 42nd Street and 3rd Avenue South, Minneapolis. It was founded in 1876 by German-Jewish immigrants residing in Minneapolis. The Chapel, which is still in use, was constructed ca. 1880. The Association merged in 1952 with the Temple Israel, Minneapolis. (Photograph courtesy of Temple Israel)

A portrait of Mrs. Joseph (Amelia) Ullman, who wrote a memoir in later life describing her arrival in Minnesota and the rigors of climate and frontier life. Upon returning to Germany, she sent various ceremonial objects to Mount Zion Temple. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Joseph Ullman, who immigrated from the Alsatian city of Mulhouse and settled in St. Paul in 1854, was first in the liquor trade and later in furs. He ultimately returned to Germany, where he controlled an international fur business from his home office in Leipzig. Ullman was the first treasurer of Mount Zion Temple. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Charter incorporating Mount Zion Temple, St. Paul, under the laws of Minnesota Territory, February 26, 1857. (Minnesota Historical Society)

facets of German culture as they were transplanted to the United States. For example, in the early nineteenth century while their fellow Jews in Germany were still speaking Yiddish as their primary language, German Jews in the United States were often speaking German. Indeed, as late as the 1850s, studies indicate that probably about two-thirds of the German Jews in the United States still did not use or understand English, preferring instead to speak German.[26] Jews were also active in German cultural organizations, such as theatrical and musical societies, immigrant aid and charitable associations; and they subscribed to German language newspapers and journals.[27]

Several reasons have been suggested to explain why Jews were able to maintain closer relations with Germans in the United States than in Germany. One explanation suggests that the two groups had an empathy for one another as a consequence of shared negative experiences in Germany, such as lack of employment, religious persecution, restrictive inheritance laws, and military conscription.[28] Another explanation posits that since German culture was held in relatively high esteem in nineteenth century America, it was advantageous for German-Jewish immigrants to emphasize the German aspect of their identity rather than the Jewish.[29]

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Cover of the *American Jewish World*, a weekly newspaper published in Minneapolis for the Twin Cities Jewish community. This issue dated December 10, 1921, was published in memory of Rabbi Samuel N. Deinard, rabbi of Temple Israel from 1901 until his death in 1921. Rabbi Deinard was born in Lithuania but educated in Berlin and Cologne, Germany; he later received a Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota. Deinhard immigrated to the United States in 1892 and was rabbi at Reform Temples in Indiana and Chicago prior to his arrival in Minneapolis in 1901. (Photograph courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society)

Kaimon Lion (also spelled Leon), was the first cantor and ritual slaughterer hired by the newly-formed Mount Zion Temple. Lion arrived in the United States in 1851 from his home in Koblenz, Germany, and settled in St. Paul in 1856 with his wife and one child. Photograph taken in 1883. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Mrs. Kaimon (Dina) Lion. Photograph taken in 1883. (Minnesota Historical Society)

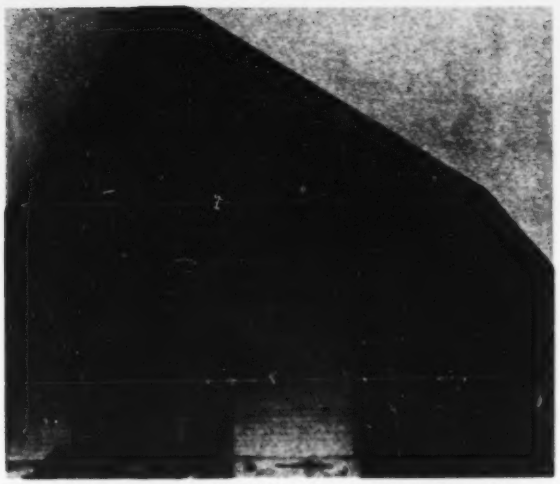
German Jews in Minnesota: 1845-1910

1. Literature Review

Very little has been written about German-Jewish immigrants in Minnesota in the 1800s and early 1900s. While a few secondary sources mention these settlers, none discuss them in a comprehensive manner. Most sources make cursory references only, and the two most in-depth studies, both done several decades ago by Gunther Plaut,[30] have as their focus subjects other than these settlers themselves.

An examination of Plaut and other secondary sources yields the following major points regarding German-Jewish immigrants in Minnesota.[31] The first German Jews known to have settled in Minnesota arrived during the territorial period in the 1840s. Although a minimum of seventy Jews from Germany were living in Minnesota in the 1860s, it is believed that no more than three hundred were in the state in 1880s. Few if any of these settlers came directly from Germany to Minnesota, but it is not known with any certainty where they had settled first, either abroad or in the United States. By the time they

Rabbi Judah Wechsler, rabbi at Mount Zion Temple from 1878-1886. Born in Bavaria and educated at the University of Würzburg and the Talmudic Academy located in that city, Rabbi Wechsler was responsible for placing Mount Zion solidly in the Reform movement. He preached in English and German. (Minnesota Historical Society)



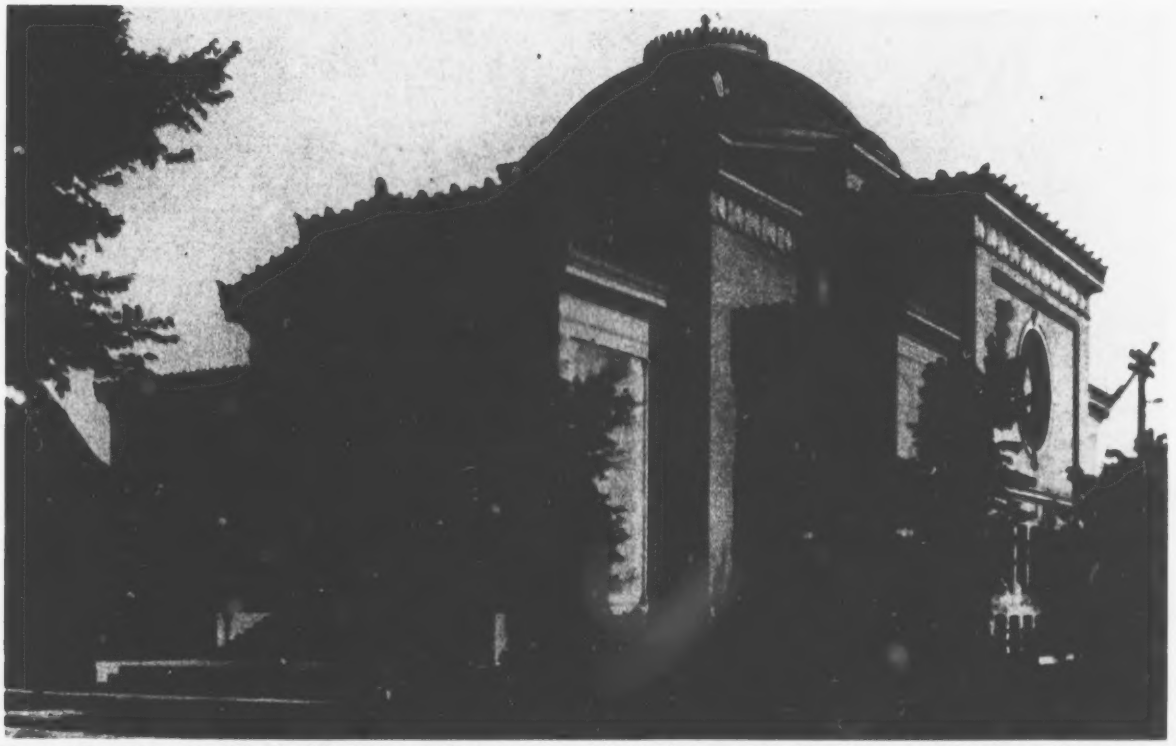
Mount Zion Temple, first building located at southwest corner of Tenth and Minnesota Streets, St. Paul. In use 1871-1881. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Mount Zion Temple, second building, also located at southwest corner of Tenth and Minnesota Streets, St. Paul. In use 1881-1903. (Minnesota Historical Society)

reached Minnesota many were in their late twenties or early thirties, and were married with at least one child. Most settled in St. Paul.

Although the work of Plaut and others does not permit a detailed comparison of the German-Jewish experience in Minnesota to that elsewhere in the United States in the nineteenth century, there seem to be some similarities between the two, especially with regard to the question of assimilation. German-Jewish immigrants in Minnesota appear to have come from several areas of Germany, but particularly Bavaria and Prussia, the two states that were sending the greatest number of Jews to America. Like many of their German co-religionists in the United States, the German-Jewish settlers in Minnesota were primarily engaged in commerce and were associated with reform Judaism. The first synagogue incorporated in Minnesota, Mount Zion, was founded by German Jews in 1856 and became reform after an initial association with the Neo-orthodox movement.

Lastly, there is evidence that the German-Jewish cultural and social experiences in Minnesota paralled those of the German-Jewish population elsewhere in the United States. That German identity was important to the German-Jewish immigrants in Minnesota is suggested by the fact some joined German social and cultural organizations and used German as their language of preference (German was used, for example, in Mount Zion Temple both for the liturgy and for the rabbi's sermon).



Mount Zion Temple, third building, located at Avon and Holly Avenue, St. Paul. In use 1903-1955. (Courtesy Minnesota Historical Society)

Rabbi Dr. Leopole Wintner, the first rabbi at Mount Zion Temple, served from 1871-1873. Born in Koztvelyes, Hungary, Rabbi Wintner received his Ph.D. from the University of Tübingen, Germany, and was ordained in Vienna, Austria. At Mount Zion he preached in Hebrew and German. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Isidor Rose, the president of Mount Zion Temple in 1873 and 1881-1883. A partner of Joseph Ullman in the fur business, Rose managed the St. Paul branch. He was born in Speyer, Germany, and came to St. Paul from New Orleans, where he had landed at age eighteen. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Peter Shapiro, with his daughter Mrs. Maurice (Clara) Lefkovits, wife of the rabbi of Temple Emanuel, Duluth, her son Harold, and son Max Shapiro on the right. (Photograph courtesy of Project to Document Jewish Settlers in Minnesota)

As this review indicates, considerably more is not known than is known about Minnesota's German-Jewish settlers. Yet this dearth of information on German Jews in Minnesota cannot be credited to a lack of source material. Primary sources are available. Private and public records exist. So too do photographs, artifacts, architecture, and sources for oral history. Indeed, all the areas discussed in the two prior conferences regarding the experiences of other German ethnic groups in Minnesota — demography, settlement patterns, economic, religious and social life, material culture, and inter-group relations — can be researched for the Minnesota German-Jewish experience. What is important in undertaking this research is to recognize that relevant German non-Jewish data needs to be examined as well as Jewish data.

2. The Project to Document Jewish Settlers in Minnesota

In pursuing its research on Jews in northeastern Minnesota the Project has uncovered information about German-Jewish immigrants on the Iron Range during the late 1800s and the early 1900s. This information fits within the areas of study that have just been enumerated and is based on the types of primary sources mentioned above. What follows is a sample of the Project's findings: selected data on German Jews in Saint Louis County at the beginning of the twentieth century. This data is taken from the 1910

Peter Shapiro, a native of Bavaria, settled with his family in St. Paul. His son, Max Shapiro, was one of the first Jewish settlers on the Iron Range. Although the family lived in Virginia, Minnesota, Max Shapiro was a founder of Temple Emanuel, a Reform congregation in Duluth. (Photograph courtesy of Project to Document Jewish Settlers in Minnesota)

Federal census, from other written primary sources, and from a series of oral histories done with Jewish and non-Jewish residents of the Iron Range.

According to the Federal census in 1910, 870 Jews resided in Saint Louis County, excluding Duluth, 49 of them German immigrants. Most of these German Jews had arrived in the United States in the 1870s but had not settled in northeastern Minnesota until the 1890s, when the iron mines opened. Some, it seems, worked their way west, first living in New York, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Most used German as their first language and many were employed in commerce. The largest number of German-Jewish immigrants lived in the towns of Virginia and nearby Eveleth. Other communities having German-Jewish immigrants included Hibbing, Aurora, Chisholm, Tower, McKinley, Gilbert and Biwabek.

According to written primary sources and people interviewed by the Project, the first synagogue in northeastern Minnesota, outside of Duluth, was established in 1900 in Eveleth; the second was founded in 1905 in Virginia. The ritual followed in both was classical, but evidence indicates the Virginia synagogue may have been the more liberal of the two. For example, the Virginia synagogue was apparently the first in the region to permit women to sit downstairs with men.

German-Jewish immigrants generally felt accepted by their neighbors, who for the most part were not Germans, but eastern and southern Europeans, primarily Finns, Poles, Italian and Austro-Hungarians. As a consequence of their acceptance, many German-Jewish immigrants were active in the general community. They ran for public office but rarely if ever were elected. However, several were appointed by mayors to

B'nai Abraham Synagogue, located at Fifth Street and Fourth Avenue, Virginia, Minnesota: a view of the building under construction in the winter of 1909. The synagogue was founded by Eastern European and German-Jewish immigrants on the Iron Range. (Photograph courtesy of Project to Document Jewish Settlers in Minnesota)

serve on various commissions, including the park, school, and library boards. They were also active in various civic and communal organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce, Elks, Rotary Club, American Legion and Masons, often holding high offices. At the same time, German Jews felt some social prejudice. Jews, for instance, were not allowed to hold membership in country clubs in Saint Louis County until well into the 1950s. Only one Jew is known to have broken the barrier prior to this time — a German who arrived in Tower in 1889 and who is widely considered to be the first Jewish settler on the Iron Range. His acceptance into the community at large is still referred to with something close to awe by Jews living on the Range.

This data on German-Jewish immigrants in St. Louis County is provocative. It underscores several points made earlier about German-Jewish immigrants in Minnesota and the United States, and takes issue with others, while introducing some entirely new points, thus highlighting the fact that the German-Jewish experience in Minnesota in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is still wide open for future research. Through the research efforts of the Project to Document Jewish Settlers in Minnesota, and through the analysis of its collected data as well as relevant data collected elsewhere, the history of those German-Jewish immigrants who chose to settle in Minnesota can begin to be written. Thus, one more German heritage in Minnesota will be fulfilled.

Marilyn J. Chiat is an adjunct member of the faculty in the Program in Ancient Near Eastern and Jewish Studies and the Center for Ancient Studies at the University of Minnesota. She received her Ph.D. in Art History from the University of Minnesota. Her *Handbook of Synagogue Architecture* was published by Scholars Press for Brown University's Post-Biblical Judaica series. At present she teaches courses on the art and architecture of the Jewish people and a material culture seminar at the University of Minnesota. She created and developed The Project to Document Jewish Settlers in Minnesota for which she is now project director. In this capacity she is overseeing research conducted by University of Minnesota graduate students that will result in the writing of a comprehensive history of Jewish settlement in Minnesota. In addition, she is planning a touring exhibit of the material evidence related to the Jewish experience in Minnesota collected as part of the project's research effort. Dr. Chiat has presented and published numerous scholarly and popular papers in this country and abroad on the art and architecture of the Jewish people. She has also spoken widely on the history of the Jewish community in Minnesota and its relationship to other Jewish communities in the United States. Dr. Chiat is a third generation Minnesotan.

Chester Proshan is pursuing a Ph.D. in American Studies at the University of Minnesota. He has a M.A. in American Studies from the University of Minnesota and a B.A. in American literature and American Studies from Rutgers College. His research and publications have concentrated on Jewish experience in the U.S. outside the major centers of Jewish population. Since 1981 he has served as the research associate for the Project to Document Jewish Settlers in Minnesota, 1880-1925, in the Program in Ancient Near Eastern and Jewish Studies at the University of Minnesota. With Dr. Chiat, he is currently researching a book on the history of Jewish communal services in St. Paul, to be published in spring 1985. He was born in and raised near Boston.

Notes

[1]Don Ward, "Unraveling the Mystery of Ethnic Identity," in *A Heritage Deferred: The German Americans in Minnesota,* ed. Clarence Glasrud (Moorhead: Concordia College, 1981), p. 34.

[2]"Germany," *Encyclopedia Judaica,* (hereafter *EJ*) vol. VIII, p. 481, 1972 ed. Jacob Toury, "Jewish Manual Labour and Emigration: Records from Some Bavarian Districts, 1830-1857," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook,* (1971), 45-62. Ismar Schorsch, *Jewish Reactions to German Anti-Semitism: 1870-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), pp. 13-14.

[3]Adolph Kober, "Jewish Immigration from Württemberg," *American Jewish History,* XLI, 3 (1952), 242-243.

[4]Schorsch, pp. 13-14.

[5]Heinz Moshe Groupe, *The Rise of Modern Judaism* (Huntington, New York: Robert E. Krieger Pub. Co., 1978), p. 25.

[6]"Germany," *EJ,* vol. VIII, p. 475. Jacob Katz, *Emancipation and Assimilation* (Westmead, England: Gregg International Publishers, Ltd., 1972), p. 4.

[7]Groupe, pp. 2-5.

[8]Schorsch, pp. 6, 14-15. Katz, p. 97.

[9]Katz, p. 15.

[10]David Bronsen, *Jews and Germans from 1860 to 1933* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1979), p. 6. Schorsch, pp. 5-6.

[11]Groupe, pp. 165 ff.

[12]*Ibid.* Schorsch, p. 19.

[13]Bronsen, p. 2. Katz, p. 1.

[14]Groupe, pp. 198-199.

[15]*Ibid.* p. 74.

[16]Bronsen, pp. 5, 327.

[17]Groupe, pp. 198-199. Kober, p. 235.

[18]Bronsen, p. 11. Forces which triggered emigration and migration among the general German population in the nineteenth century, such as bad harvests and high food prices, also contributed to the uprooting of the nation's Jewish population.

[19]Schorsch, p. 163.

[20]American Jewry grew substantially in the nineteenth century. In 1800 approximately 2,500 Jews resided in the United States, in 1826, 6,000, 1880, 280,000 and 1900, 1,100,000. The major reason for this growth in population was Jewish emigration from an area in Eastern Europe known as the Pale, a region between eastern Poland and western Russia. Interestingly, this numerical increase had little effect on the Jewish percentage of the total national population: 0.4% in 1800 over against .56% toward the end of the nineteenth century. Jacob Lestschinsky, "Jewish Migrations, 1840-1946," in *The Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion,* ed. Louis Finkelstein (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1949), pp. 1220-1221. "United States," *EJ,* vol. XV, p. 1596. Between 1820-1900, more than five million Germans emigrated to the United States. Hildegard Binder Johnson, "Germans," in *They Chose Minnesota,* ed. June Drenning Holmquist (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1981), p. 153.

[21]Bernard D. Weinryb, "The German Jewish Immigration to America," in *Jews from Germany in the United States,* ed. Eric E. Hirshler (New York: Farrar-Straus, 1955), pp. 103-126. Hirshler, *Jews from Germany in the United States,* pp. 116-117.

[22]*EJ,* vol. XV, p. 1586.

[23]*Ibid.,* p. 1596.

[24]*Ibid.*

[25]*Ibid.,* p. 1597. Rudolph Glanz, *Studies in Judaica Americus* (New York: KTAV, 1970), p. 192.

[26]*EJ,* vol. XV, p. 1599. Hirshler, p. 55.

[27]*EJ,* vol. XV, p. 1598. Hirshler, p. 43. Weinryb, p. 124.

[28]Weinryb, p. 124. Glanz, pp. 90-91. H.G. Reissner, "The German-American Jews up to 1880," *Leo Baeck Yearbook,* X (1965), 94. Clarence A. Glasrud ed., "Introduction," *Heritage Deferred,* p. 16.

[29]Weinryb, p. 124.

[30]W. Gunther Plaut was rabbi of Mount Zion Temple, St. Paul, from 1948 to 1961.

[31]W. Gunther Plaut, *The Jews in Minnesota* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1959). *Idem., Mount Zion: The First Hundred Years* (St. Paul: North Central Printing, 1956). Hyman Berman, "The Jews," in *They Chose Minnesota,* pp. 489-507.

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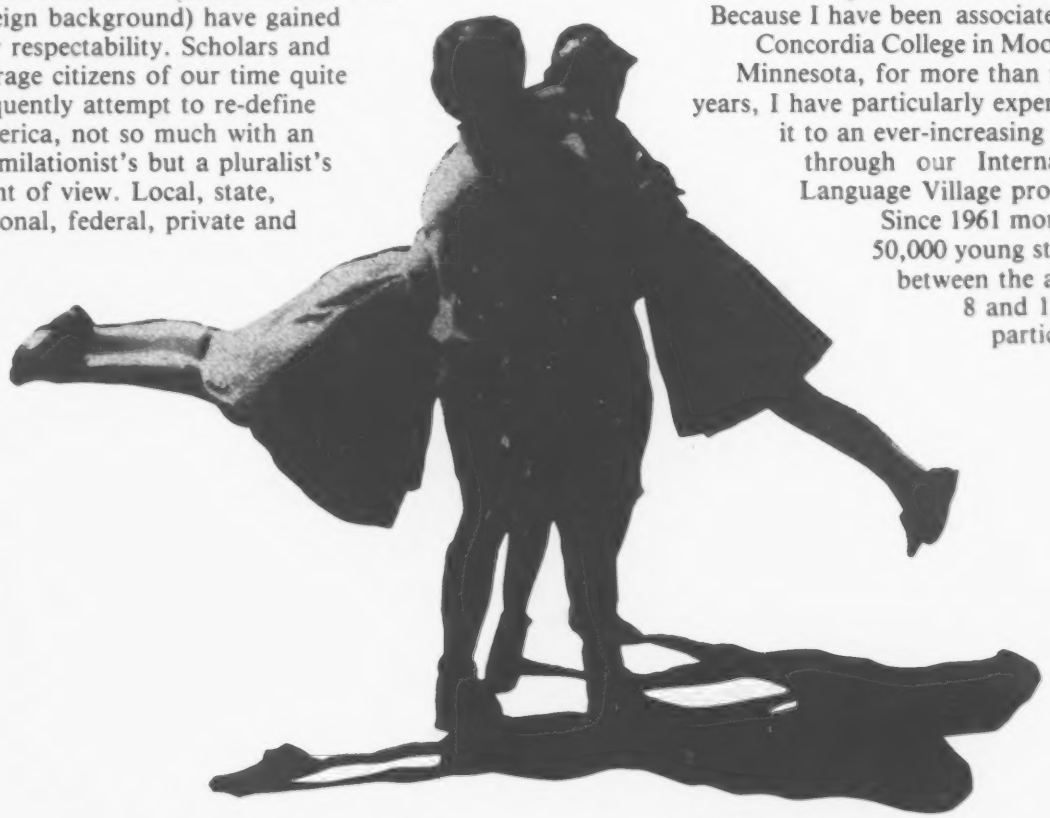
German Language Experience: Die Wandertour

by Norbert G. Benzel

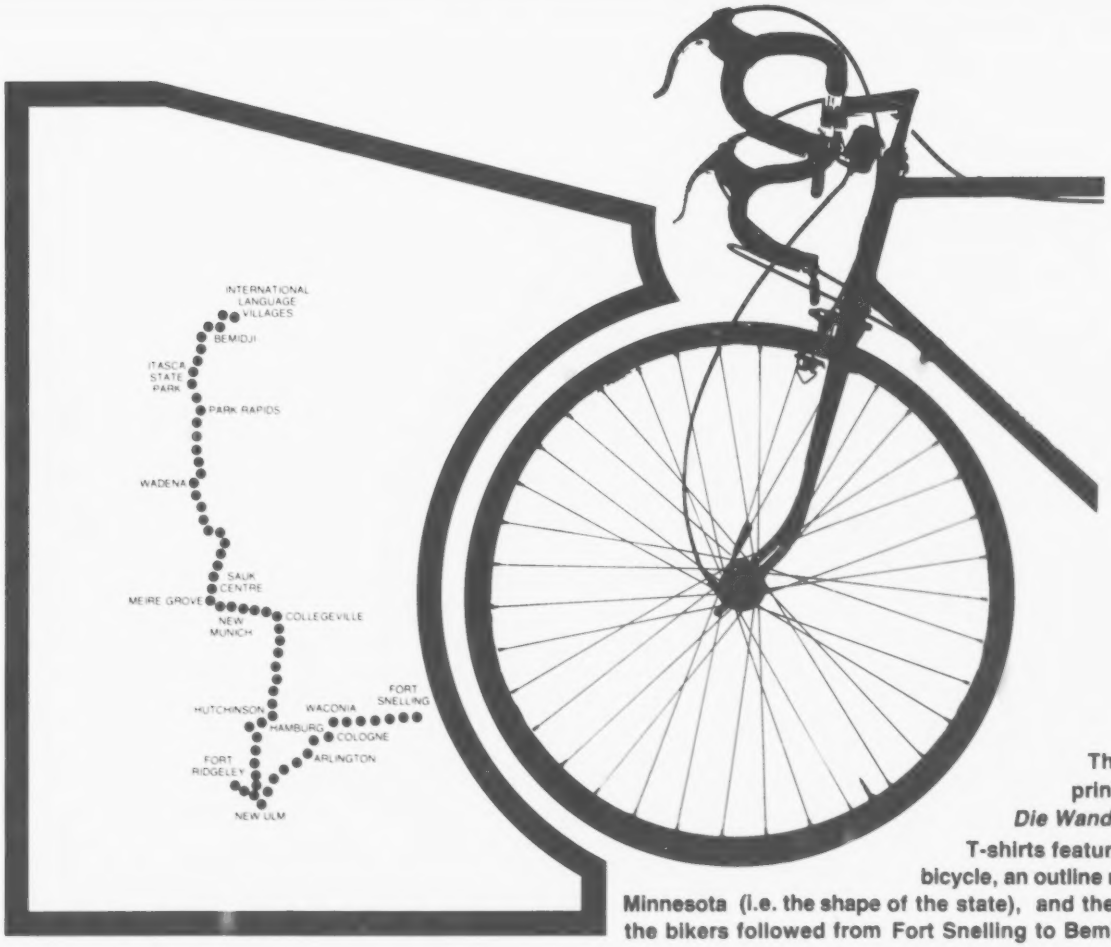
Historians have described our country as a melting pot in which an infinite number of minorities representing nearly every national, racial and ethnic group on earth have been assimilated into a vast superstructure called the United States. It is customary to define the strongest bonds that tie our citizens together as our 200-year Anglo-Saxon history, our American way of life, and the English language.

In recent decades, however, historians of ethnic studies and experts focusing on the experiences and achievements of hyphenated Americans (or Americans with foreign background) have gained new respectability. Scholars and average citizens of our time quite frequently attempt to re-define America, not so much with an assimilationist's but a pluralist's point of view. Local, state, regional, federal, private and public institutions not only encourage but have as their goal to shed new light on our multifaceted ethnic heritage. A case in point is the flurry of activities presently found in commemoration of the 300th anniversary of organized German immigration to the United States. Never in the history of this nation have so many conferences, symposia, colloquia, festivals, exhibitions, and workshops been concluded, never so many detailed studies published that center on German-Americans — as individuals or as representatives of a specific ethnic group.

I am a German-American who has witnessed and observed an ever-increasing interest in our ethnic-oriented past: among the students I teach, their parents, my colleagues, as well as my other acquaintances and friends. Because I have been associated with Concordia College in Moorhead, Minnesota, for more than twenty years, I have particularly experienced it to an ever-increasing degree through our International Language Village programs. Since 1961 more than 50,000 young students between the ages of 8 and 18 have participated



"Experience - based activities" include ethnic dances, some of them acrobatic.



The logo printed on *Die Wandertour* T-shirts featured the bicycle, an outline map of Minnesota (i.e. the shape of the state), and the route the bikers followed from Fort Snelling to Bemidji.

in our summer programs, mini-programs, abroad programs and adventure programs. Through the medium of one of the eight languages presently taught, these youngsters explore the culture of other countries by means of experience-based activities; they also investigate and discover their own heritage, their own roots.

Our involvement in foreign language teaching has confirmed in us the strong belief that the most direct and effective way to appreciate cultural manifestations of any type is through the knowledge of language, coupled with the experience of using that language in a personal way. Language is the best-known tool available to man for the understanding of our own cultural heritage and that of our ancestors from distant shores. Experience-based activities help deepen our understanding of ourselves as we interpret basic tenets of a cultural nature.

Began Planning in 1977

In 1977, under the leadership of Dell Bjerkness, Ed Magidson, Paul Erickson and Christiane Marks, several instructors of Concordia's International Language Villages began considering a never-before-attempted adventure-type German language program. The idea was to sponsor a bike-a-thon for students 13 years and older to discover Europe in Minnesota. Since German immigrants in Minnesota constitute the largest ethnic group, a 12-day metric bicycle tour focusing on "German" Minnesota was launched. Called "Die Wandertour," this program became a reality in the summer of 1978. It turned out to be so successful and promising that it was offered again in 1979, 1980 and 1981.

Designed to interpret German immigrant experience in Minnesota, "Die Wandertour" combined three distinct aspects: the German language, German immigrant history, and a bicycle tour of more than 800 kilometers through 13 Minnesota counties that have a dominant ethnic German heritage. It involved over 200 bicyclists and staff. The participants of the undertaking were individuals with a minimum age of 13, students or faculty members with a knowledge of and interest in German, and some German nationals. Together they biked and explored ethnic German heritage over a period of almost two weeks in communities like St. Paul, Minneapolis, Carver, Cologne, Hamburg, Arlington, New Germany, New Ulm, Klossner, Collegeville, St. Joseph, New Munich, Meier Grove, Bertha, Verndale, Wadena, Park Rapids and Bemidji.

Participants in the 1978 *Wandertour* string out as they leave the confines of Fort Snelling.

This experience-based program began at Fort Snelling, near the entry point of early German immigrants into the state; it ended at Lager Waldsee, the German language village, a community where the German language and culture are fostered and are very much alive today. Just as early German immigrants rode on horseback and traveled by covered wagon — or walked — between the above-mentioned hamlets and cities, with their few possessions, these cyclists retraced their forefathers' steps — and thus re-created the immigrant experience in the "New World." Not unlike their ancestors, they invariably developed a close affinity with Mother Earth: its gentle sloped hills, mighty rivers, fertile fields and green meadows, its vast prairies, dark forests and inviting lakes. And it goes without saying, like their forefathers they, too, were exposed to nature's whims, and they came to depend on farmers and townspeople for needed information, advice and suggestions.

In order to plan and conduct a program of this type, imagination, practical know-how, research and perseverance were required. This began with recruitment of capable students, instructors and support staff; it required attention to finance, equipment, logistics, health matters, suitable food and lodging, and specialized materials; it involved new teaching methods and attention to German immigrant history and folk culture — music, dance and drama.

A half-dozen students who took part in the 1979 tour dressed up for the German-language skit they presented.

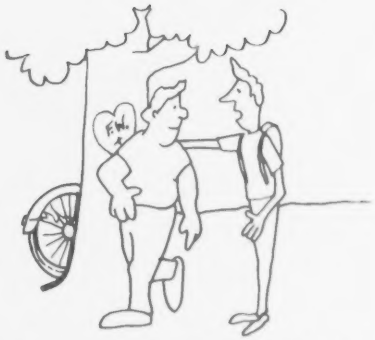
Three Publications Prepared

For the first *Wandertour* in 1978 three publications written by Concordia's Language Villages staff were made available to participating cyclists. These were: *Die Wandertour durch Deutsch-Minnesota. Handbuch für Teilnehmer;*[1] *Die Wandertour durch Deutsch-Minnesota. Handbuch für Gruppenleiter;*[2] and *Mein deutsches Liederbuch und mein deutsches Tanzbuch.*[3]

The bi-lingual *Handbuch für Teilnehmer* contained a detailed travel route with sites to be visited, a synopsis of the day's activities, short dialogues with two especially-created comic strip *Wandertour* characters, a German vocabulary listing and idioms for daily use, a list of German terms for all major bike parts, as well as an official certificate attesting the travelled kilometrage. This is a sample of one of the 13 lesson plans:

"Die Wandertour 1978.
Reiseplan.
Dienstag, der 8. August.
Brown County.
(45 Kilometers, 28 miles).
Der 5. Tag.
Zusammenfassung.

Heute widmen wir uns wieder New Ulm and Umgebung, besichtigen die Überreste des Fort Ridgely und einen Pionier-Kaufladen. In New Ulm selber gibt es viele Sehenswürdigkeiten — ein College, eine Villa und den Garten des Bierbrauers Schell, ein deutsches Importgeschäft. Wir beschäftigen uns ebenfalls mit dem Indianeraufstand von 1862, um diesen Ort in seiner historischen Perspektive zu sehen und ein wenig nachzuempfinden, was auf beiden Seiten von den deutschen Einwanderern sowie von den Indianern gelitten wurde.
Fort Ridgely Historical Site
Harkin Massopust Store Historic Site
Sioux Uprising. Attack on Fort Ridgely and sacking of New Ulm
Dr. Martin Luther College
Schell's Brewery
Post Office Historic Site
Concordia German Singers
Kiesling House Historic Site
Melges Bakery Historic Site



"F.W." (FRIEDRICH WEYERHAEUSER) STIMMT, ABER DAS HERZ NICHT!

DIE WANDERTOUR
ERSTE WANDER- U. RADTOUR DURCH DEUTSCH-MINNESOTA
HANDBUCH FÜR TEILNEHMER
12-DAY BICYCLE PROGRAM THROUGH GERMAN-MINNESOTA
Written by:
Christiane Buchinger-Heringman, M.A. University of Cincinnati
CONCORDIA LANGUAGE VILLAGES, MOORHEAD, MINNESOTA

Focus On New Ulm

"This day we will again devote ourselves to New Ulm and vicinity, visiting the remains of Fort Ridgely and a restored pioneer general store. In New Ulm itself there are many things to see — a college, the villa and garden of brewer August Schell, a German import store and several old houses of historical significance. We will discuss the Indian uprising of 1862 so that we can see the town in its proper historical perspective, and become at least in some measure aware of the suffering on both sides, the German immigrants and the Indians."[4]

Motzl says, "Hu, hu! Ich will raus aus Neu Ulm! Ich habe Angst!" Maxl, his friend, replies, "Aber Motzl! Warum jetzt?!" And again Motzl, "Hier hat's 1862 einen Indianeraufstand gegeben, und das ist nur 116 Jahre her!"

The English translation:

Motzl - "Help! I want to get out of New Ulm — I am scared."

Maxl - "Now really, Motzl! Why on earth?"

Motzl - "Well, there was an Indian uprising here in 1862 and that was only 116 years ago!"

The second dialogue of the day:

Motzl - "Maxl, Neu Ulm gefällt mir *doch*!"

Maxl - "Warum denkst du denn jetzt plötzlich anders?"

Motzl - "Na wegen Schells Brewery! Ich kann ja hier soviel Bier trinken wie ich will!"

The English translation:

Motzl - "Maxl, I like New Ulm, *after all*!"

Maxl - "Why did you change your mind all of a sudden?"

Motzl - "Well, because of Schell's Brewery. I can drink as much beer as I like!"[5]

Here is another example, focussing on the Minneapolis area:

Maxl - "Heisst das Fort "Schnelling," weil es schnell gebaut worden ist?"

Motzl - "Nein, es heisst ja gar nicht "Schnelling" sondern "Snelling"!"

(Maxl - "Is the fort called "Schnelling" because it was built quickly?" (schnell)

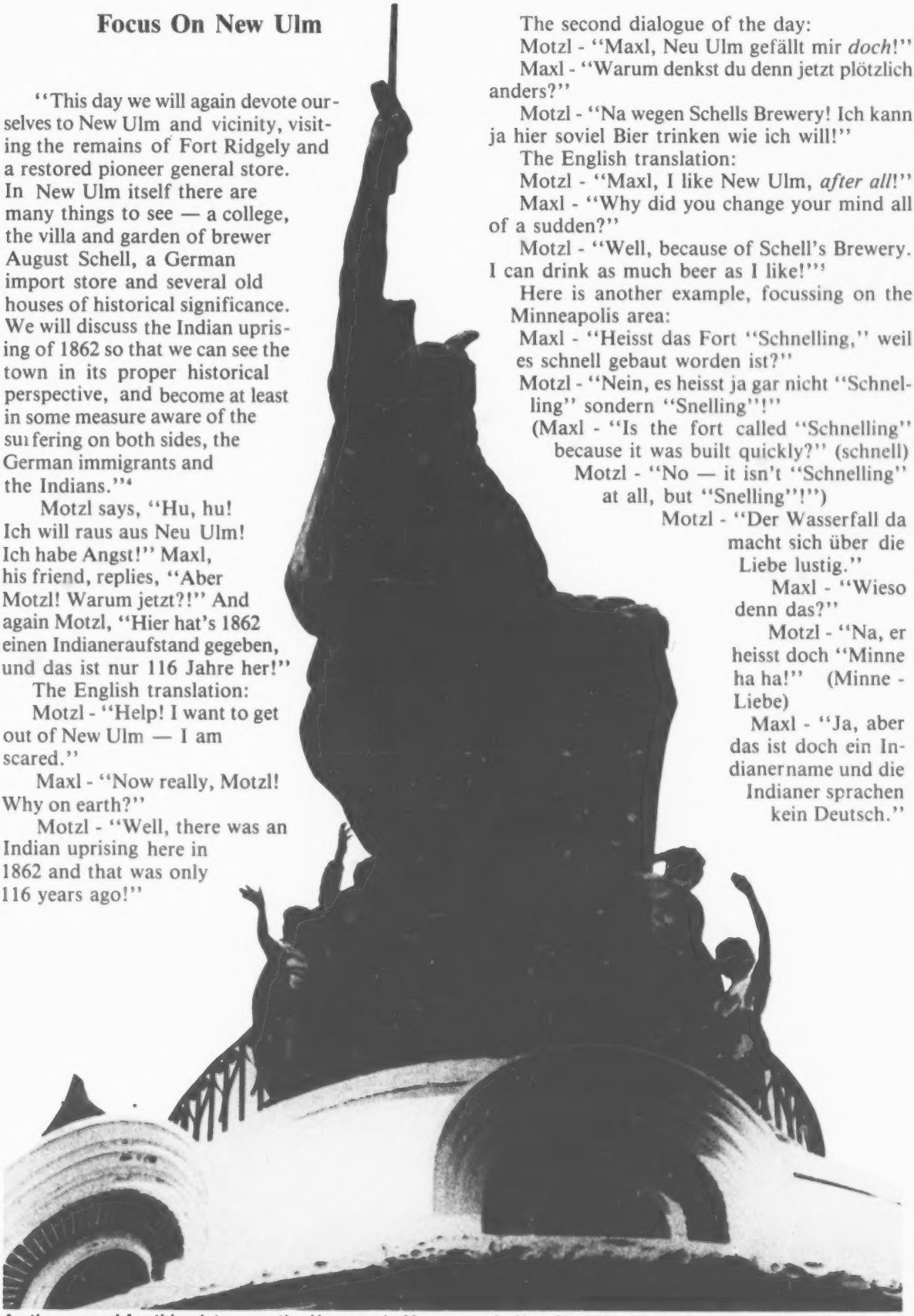
Motzl - "No — it isn't "Schnelling" at all, but "Snelling"!")

Motzl - "Der Wasserfall da macht sich über die Liebe lustig."

Maxl - "Wieso denn das?"

Motzl - "Na, er heisst doch "Minne ha ha!" (Minne - Liebe)

Maxl - "Ja, aber das ist doch ein Indianername und die Indianer sprachen kein Deutsch."



As they posed for this picture on the Hermann's Monument in New Ulm, the bikers found a variety of gestures (or salutes) appropriate.

(Motzl - "That waterfall is making fun of love."

Maxl - "Why do you say that?!"

Motzl - "Well, it's name is Minne (love) ha ha!"

Maxl - "But that is an Indian name and the Indians didn't speak German.")[6]

The certificate in German, alluded to before, reads as follows:

"Es wird hiermit bescheinigt, dass der/die Wandertourteilnehmer(in). . .am. . .1978 mit dem Fahrrad. . .Kilometer durch Deutsch-Minnesota in den USA gefahren ist.

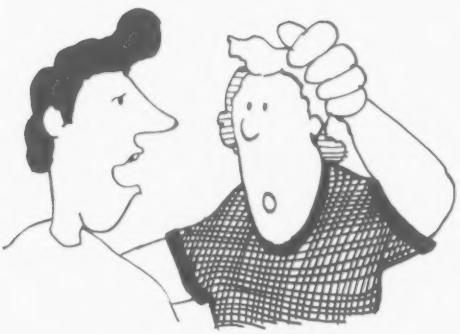
Mit dem Stempel der zuständigen Behörde versehen am. . .1978 zu. . .Minnesota, USA."[7] It is complete with "Stempel" and "Unterschrift."

ICH VERSTEHE NICHT, WIE SEINE FRAU IHN IM SCHLAFROCK AUF DIE STRASSE LASSEN KANN!

Revisions in 1979

For the 1979 Wandertour the *Handbuch für Teilnehmer* was greatly re-structured. It became the *Radlers Tagebuch*. (*The Diary of a Cyclist*.)[8] While this publication basically retained the synopsis sections and listings of sites to be visited, it replaced all Maxl-Moxl dialogues with basic phrases in German. (The reasons for the decision in regard to the dialogues was obvious. The humor in the text turned out to be too subtle and the dialogues were structurally not sufficiently adjusted to the widely varying proficiency levels of the *Wandertour* participants.)

Die Wandertour durch Deutsch-Minnesota. Handbuch für Gruppenleiter — although the title changed in 1979 to *Wegweiser zur Wandertour*.



ICH GLAUBE WIRKLICH, DIE FARMER IN "MEIRE GROVE SIND DEUTSCHER, ALS DIE DEUTSCHEN SELBER!

DER 8. TAG

MAXL - Dies Dorf heisst Meire Grove, und es wohnen nur Meyers drin. Viele sprechen noch Deutsch miteinander und haben eine deutsche Aussprache, wenn sie Englisch sprechen und sie halten noch Fronleichnamsprozessionen ab. Und doch sind ihre Grossväter schon vor über hundert Jahren ganz jung aus Deutschland ausgewandert!

MOTZL - Ich glaube, sie sind deutscher, als die Deutschen selber. Die wollen alle amerikanisch tun und Jeans tragen.

****

MAXL - Kannst du dies Rätsel raten, Motzl? Er verachtet und verlässt seine Heimatstadt und schreibt doch ein ganzes Buch über sie. Er bringt ihr Weltruhm und macht sich doch dadurch dort unbeliebt. Und schliesslich wird er zum Liebling der Stadt! Wer ist das?

MOTZL - Wer das ist? Na, wart' einmal! So paradox kann ja nur das Leben eines Literaten aus Minnesota sein! Sinclair Lewis ist's!

****

Odell Bjerkness, dressed for biking, got a handshake at Fort Snelling before the tour got underway. Governor Rudy Perpich seemed in favor of the tour - but not ready to join it.

A Guide to the Historical and Cultural Background of the Wandertour through German-Minnesota[9] — was not changed in its format and basic composition. In its introduction it discusses general guidelines in formulating curriculum sections, states general characteristics of each Radlergruppe, lists considerations in the preparation of the cultural manual or *Radlers Tagebuch*, comments on the preparation of the route manual, and gives brief observations about conducting a *Wandertour*.

This handbook has become a most valuable research tool for every *Wandertour* group leader and instructor. It not only presents solid background information on the German-American experience in Minnesota, but also discusses in great detail what well-known Minnesota historians have written about each community and county included in the *Wandertour* route.

I will stay with my example of New Ulm. With headings in German, the *Wegweiser* discusses in English:

"Nicollet und Brown Counties. Zwei im südlichen Minnesota gelegene, fruchtbare Prärieberzirke, unter Deutschen besonders beliebt."

"Der Minnesotafluss, dessen Tal besonders viele deutsche Einwanderer angezogen hat."

"New Ulm, eine kleine deutsche Insel in Minnesota. Geschichte der Stadt bis 1862 (Indianeraufstand)."

"Das Dr. Martin Luther College in New Ulm."

"Schells Brauerei: 'Trink, Brüderlein trink'."

"Das Kiesling Haus."

"Die Melges Bäckerei."

"Harold Löffelmacher und seine sechs dicken Musikanten."

"Aufstand der Sioux Indianer, der grösste Indianerkrieg in der Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten."

"Fort Ridgely von den Indianern angegriffen."

"New-Ulm, zweimal von den Indianern angegriffen."[10]

For each day, discussion questions are included. Examples: "What were the aims and beliefs of the Turnverein in Germany? In America? How did they gradually change after immigration?"[11]

"Rivers are and always have been centers for settlers and civilization. What does a river provide? How would settlement patterns differ without a river nearby?"[12]

On some tour days the weather was warm-to-hot and the going easy.

"Is there any way Minnesota could have been settled without mistreatment of the Indians and subsequent uprisings, massacres and bitterness?"[13]

"Even today we find ourselves taking sides as we read accounts of battles between settlers and Indians. With whom do you side, and why? Discuss this with others who take different sides. What has influenced your opinion?"[14]

"New Ulm is a city very proud of its heritage. What was the price the people had to pay for this pride? What are the positive and negative sides of a strong ethnic identity? Does this make you any more aware of *your* ethnic background?"[15]

Like the *Wegweiser*, Concordia's *Deutsches Liederbuch und deutsches Tanzbuch* has kept its original format. As a songbook it lists thirty well-known *Volkslieder* that are still well known among Minnesota's German immigrants, and the same can be said about the twelve Volkstänze which are certainly well-known to any "villager" who has ever attended any Waldsee sessions near Bemidji. One of the strengths of this publication is that each folkdance is clearly described in English.

Wandertour participants and their instructors have always made extensive use of these teaching materials; in fact, they became indispensible tools for all four *Wandertours* so far conducted.

Participants Work Hard

It should be pointed out that all participants in our *Wandertours* through the German-speaking Minnesota communities had to work hard to enable them to explore their ethnic past. Not unlike their forefathers' efforts prior to emigration, they raised money and collected pledges from relatives, friends and acquaintances. For every kilometer bicycled, they not only financed their trip (cost, $250.00), but also had the opportunity to win an all-expense paid trip to Germany, a full scholarship to attend a language village credit session, or a German 10-speed bicycle. At the same time they helped finance additional programs and projects of the International Language Villages (A good example is the construction of an early-pioneer-like log cabin at Village Waldsee). The enthusiasm for the *Wandertour* can be illustrated by a 15-year-old boy from Minneapolis who earned $1.25 per kilometer biked, or another who collected a total of $1,500. After the first *Wandertour* had been completed, $9,500.00 in pledges was placed at the disposal of the International Language Villages office for future use.

There were experiences on these *Wandertours* that have left a lasting impression on the minds

Concordia students raised funds, felled trees and completed construction of a log cabin named *Haus Katja* in memory of Kathy Rutherford, a Concordia senior who died in the spring of 1980. The cabin is located on the Waldsee site of Concordia's Language Villages near Bemidji. Just behind the young blonde student is Ed Magidson, who was program coordinator for both the log cabin building session and the 1980 bicycle tour.

A group of students learn the proper use of the German words for "over," "under" and "next to" while they rest along the road - thus combining tough prepositions with pleasant relaxation.

of the participants. I can mention only a few: the language programs conducted in mini-lessons along Minnesota roads and highways; large choral sessions around camp fires; discussions with German-Americans in their hometowns or on their farms; typical German meals; reading German roadsigns, cemetery inscriptions and German names on mailboxes; participating in an all-German mass at St. John's Abbey; visiting historic sites at Fort Snelling or Fort Ridgley, the Kiesling House, Hermann's monument and the basement of Messerschmidt House; interacting with the Amish at Bertha and learning about the life style of this religion-oriented community; dancing to polka tunes played by Wally Pickal and His Six Dills in New Ulm's German Park; taking walking tours with men like Harold Bierbaum; tenting at night at historic places like Flandrau State Park or Fort Ridgley; listening to the German songs sung by the Concord Singers or watching the daily play acting by counselors and bikers; studying briefings on geographical points of interest; touring Civil War military installations; and becoming aware of social concerns, economic conditions and cases of political persecution during World War I. I could go on *ad infinitum*.

In 1981 *Wandertour* participants were given a survey questionnaire designed to give us a clearer picture of the overall impact *Die Wandertour* had made on our students. The test was subdivided into three sections: language acquisition, heritage assimilation and self concept-group skills development. It asked the students to respond to questions through the use of letter grades ranging from "A" to "F." The results, later tabulated into percentage points, present the following breakdown:

Questionnaire Responses Favorable

Responses by *Wandertour* participants showed that more than 80% felt that they had made some or great progress in learning to understand spoken German, to pronounce foreign words, and to speak German; they had come to like people from foreign lands and had become interested in what happens in other countries. 75% of the cyclists gave an "A" or "B" rating in response to the question, "Do you think bicycling on *Die Wandertour* is a good way to learn German?"

Obtained results in reference to questions dealing with learning immigrant history via bicycling revealed even more positive responses. For example: *Wandertourteilnehmer* were asked and rated with an "A" or "B":

Do you think bicycling is a good way to learn immigrant culture?
— 90% of them felt it did.

Do you have a feeling for the reasons why Germans came to Minnesota?
— 90% said they did.

Do you know what Minnesota was like when German settlers first came?
— 90% responded in the affirmative.

Do you understand the route many of the German immigrants took?
— 80% thought they did.

Can you understand the hardships and what the life of German immigrants was like during the mid 1800's?
— 87% answered with yes.

Did you enjoy learning about immigrant culture while bicycling?
— 87% stated they did. (75% of those were "A's")

Did the skits or dramas of a historical nature help you to understand immigrant life?
— 82% responded in the affirmative.

Did this trip increase your interest in Minnesota - German tradition?
— 80% felt they did.

Did you enjoy acting in a drama?
— 75% thought they did.

There were 495 possible letter grades and 369 were given. The distribution is as follows:

A	B	C	D	F
50%	34%	14%	1%	0%

In the final section, "Self concept — Group Skills," 82% gave an "A" or "B" to the question, "Did you gain confidence in yourself on this trip?" To the question, "Do you understand yourself better after this trip," 77% answered with either an "A" or a "B."[16]

German Culture Through Language

Experiencing German immigrant culture through the use of German was the most important goal. Our own experience and the survey results indicate that this program had

This was probably not a race, but two 1979 *Die Wandertour* participants seem to be getting good speed out of their vehicles at this point.

On the 1978 *Wandertour* Paul Erickson dropped back to give help and encouragement to a young biker.

been a success. Attitudes toward learning German, exploring German immigrant history and toward other cultures were all positive. Concordia's *Wandertour* adventure and experience-based program did not only have a profound impact on its participants. It also aroused curiosity, interest, appreciation, satisfaction, pride and feelings of good will among hundreds, perhaps thousands of Minnesota citizens. Chamber of Commerce offices, churches of various denominations, national, state, regional and local newspapers reported extensively on the *Wandertour* effort. The 1979 *Wandertour*, for instance, was reported on by the WCCO-AM Boone and Erickson show on eight different occasions: *Wandertour* participants and local citizens from cities such as Hamburg, Winthrop, New Ulm, Fort Ridgely, New Munich and Park Rapids were interviewed. One of these talk shows lasted 45 minutes.

The *Minneapolis Star*, the *Arlington Enterprise*, the *Journal of New Ulm*, the *Norwood Times*, the *Stearns-Morrison Enterprise*, *The Patriot* at Watkins, the *St. Cloud Daily News* - to mention only a few - reported to their readers as the cyclists rolled on. Headlines ranged from "Wunderbar! Bikes roll to Germany," "Tour mixes German and Cycling,"[17] "German touring cyclists traveled through our area,"[18] to "Die Wandertour 1979 - A 12-day metric bike-a-thon through German Minnesota."[19]

Over the years, Concordia College and its International Language Villages have made a concerted effort to promote foreign language studies and to explore in depth cultural and ethnic manifestations here and abroad. Concordia has

Die Wandertour

Die Wandertour, from the Concordia International Language Village, has set up camp in Flandrau State Park. The group of 25 young people is touring southern Minnesota on bicycle. They will leave New Ulm for Fort Ridgely State Park this morning. The tour began at Fort Snelling and will end at St. John's University, Collegeville. (Photo by Germaine Langer)

The Journal

Wednesday, July 30, 1980 New Ulm, Minn. 56073 25 cents

Touring by bicycle

Members of "Die Wandertour" — a group of 25 young people on a bicycle tour that began at Fort Snelling and will end at St. John's University in Collegeville — locked arms as they recited a German prayer before eating dinner at Turner Hall Tuesday evening. The group is touring New Ulm today to study the city's German heritage. Ranging in age from 13 to 36 the members of the tour are camping at Flandrau State Park during their stay here. The tour is sponsored through Concordia College in Moorhead. Facing from left to right are: Lisa Carlson of Moorhead; Ed Magi son, tour coordinator; Todd Withnell, Moorhead; Bill Sherwin, Batavia, N.Y.; and Chad Tearle, Minneapolis.

Coming into town

Four of the 25 members of "Die Wandertour" rode south along Hwy. 15 from Klossner on their way into New Ulm Tuesday afternoon. The touring group is studying the German heritage of Minnesota by visiting various cities, such as New Ulm, and holding language classes. The kids swam and ate dinner at Turner Hall Tuesday before returning to their campsite at Flandrau State Park. They will tour New Ulm today and then continue their travels which will eventually bring them to St. John's University in Collegeville.

THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR

Tuesday, June 26, 1979

Ralph Thornton

Wunderbar!

Bikes roll to 'Germa

The Journal

Tuesday, August 7, 1979

New Ulm, Minn. 56073

Cyclists to stay in New Ulm

THE PATRIOT

WATKINS, MINNESOTA 55389 THURSDAY, AUGUST 3, 1979 VOLUME VII NUMBER FOURTY-FIVE

Die Wandertour Bicycling Tour Through Watkins Aug. 12

On August 12th, Watkins will become a part of Die Wandertour, a bicycling foreign language tour through German Minnesota, as our seventy bikers make Watkins one of their scheduled stops.

Die Wandertour's goal is to recreate the experience of the German pioneers as they settled the Minnesota Territory in the 1850's. We will learn to speak their language learn their customs, songs and dances, and will experience ourselves the hardships they also had to live with and overcome: the weather, the geography, and the work of travel. We will camp along our route as the pioneers did. As we visit their homes, churches, the towns they founded, and the farms they staked out, we will see the contribution the German immigrants made to the heritage of the Midwest.

Minnesota newspapers took proper notice of *Die Wandertour* and its participants, purpose, and progress.

been one of the institutions of higher learning in the state that has consistently "gone public" by publishing its program curricula and conference proceedings of major presentations focussing on the contributions that German immigrants have made to Minnesota. This applies to the 1979 conference, "The German-Americans in Minnesota: A Heritage Deferred,"[20] and to a second, sponsored a year ago, entitled "Minnesota-The Federal Republic of Germany: A Special Relationship."[21] It will also apply to this year's conference, "German-Americans in Minnesota: A Heritage Fulfilled."[22]

Our special interest in things German-American in the state can be traced to the first *Wandertour* experience in 1978. It can be followed through *Wandertours* conducted during subsequent years. I am certain that the same interest will be further broadened and deepened in the future. After all, what is more important than questions about where we came from, what we are, and what we will be?

Norbert G. Benzel, a native of Stettin, Pomerania (now a part of Poland) fled the Russian advance to Berlin and Dresden, and finally to a Bavarian farm — before migrating to the United States in 1952. He took a B.A. from Hamline University and an M.A. from the University of Minnesota (in 1963). After teaching for two years at Brainerd Community College and doing advanced work at the University of Minnesota, he came to Concordia College in 1963 as chairperson of the German Department, a position which he still holds today. He has served both as dean of the Concordia Language Villages and director of the University Modern Language Institute in St. Paul. He has a dual research involvement: the story of Nazi Germany, which he experienced in his adolescence, and the German-American experience in Minnesota, which is an important aspect of his teaching.

Notes

[1]Christiane Buchinger-Herringman, *Die Wandertour. Erste Wander- u. Radtour durch Deutsch-Minnesota. Handbuch für Teilnehmer.* Moorhead: Concordia Language Villages, 1978.

[2]Christiane Buchinger-Herringman, ed. *Die Wandertour durch Deutsch-Minnesota. Handbuch für Gruppenleiter.* Moorhead: Concordia Language Villages, 1978.

[3]Bill Schleppegrell and Jayleen Ryberg, eds. *Mein deutsches Liederbuch und Mein deutsches Tanzbuch für Die Wandertour.* Moorhead: Concordia Language Villages, 1978.

[4]Christiane Buchinger-Herringman, *Die Wandertour. Erste Wander- u. Radtour durch Deutsch-Minnesota.* Moorhead: Concordia Language Villages, 1978, p. 24.

[5]*Ibid.* p. 25.

[6]*Ibid.* p. 3.

[7]This certificate entry was made for each Wandertour participant at the end of each day.

[8]Edward Magidson, ed. *Radlers Tagebuch. Die Wandertour 1979 durch Deutsch-Minnesota.* Moorhead: International Language Villages, 1979.

[9]Buchinger-Herringman, Kathleen O'Brian, and Magidson, eds. *Wegweiser zur Wandertour. A Guide to the historical and cultural background of Die Wandertour durch Deutsch-Minnesota.* Moorhead: Concordia College International Language Villages, 1979.

[10]Christiane Buchinger-Herringman, et al., *Wegweiser.* Moorhead: Concordia College Internationl Language Villages, 1979, pp. 26-30.

[11]*Ibid.* p. 27.

[12]*Ibid.* p. 27.

[13]*Ibid.* p. 30.

[14]*Ibid.* p. 30.

[15]*Ibid.* p. 32.

[16]The survey questionnaire was devised and administered by Ed Magidson, who served as the Wandertour leader in 1981.

[17]Ralph Thornton, "Wunderbar! Bikes roll to 'Germany'," *The Minneapolis Star,* 26. June 1979.

[17]Mary Lahr, "Tour mixes German and cylcing," *St. Cloud Daily Times,* 14. August 1979.

[18]"German touring cyclists traveled through our area," *The Norwood Times,* 9. August 1979.

[19]"Die Wandertour 1979 - A 12-day metric bike-a-thon through German Minnesota," *Stearns-Morrison Enterprise,* 28. August 1979.

[20]Clarence A. Glasrud, ed. *A Heritage Deferred: The German-Americans in Minnesota.* Moorhead: Concordia College, 1979.

[21]Clarence A. Glasrud, ed. *A Special Relationship: Germany and Minnesota, 1945-1985.* Moorhead: Concordia College, 1982.

[22]The conference, "German-Americans in Minnesota: A Heritage Fulfilled," was held in Bloomington, Mn. September 29, 1983.

Mathilda Tolksdorf and Daniel Shillock: A German-American Frontier Family Experience

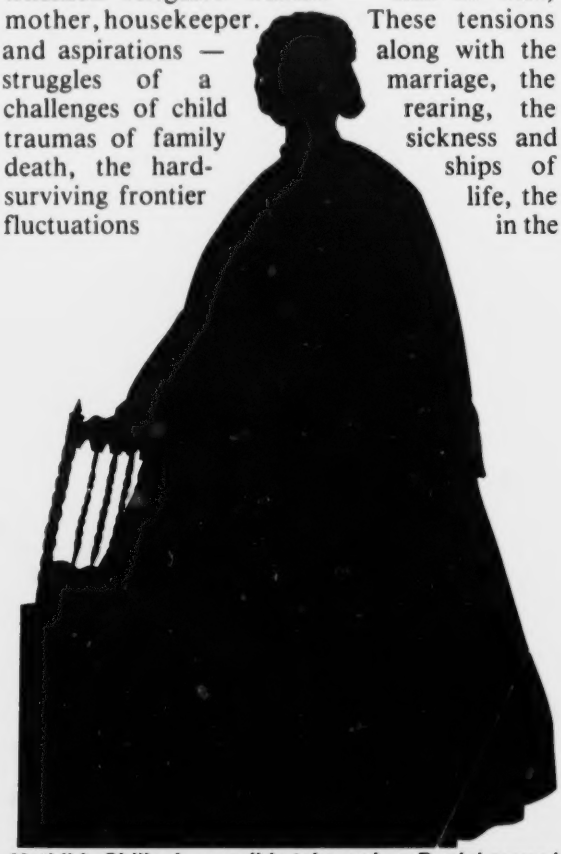
by John C. Massman

On Tuesday, April 11, 1854, the recently married Mathilda Tolksdorf and Daniel George Shillock[1] left Liverpool on the steamship, *Cleopatra,* bound for Montreal.[2] Their destination, like that of over 600,000 fellow Germans in the first half of the 1850s, was the United States.[3] Like most of their fellow countrymen they planned to start their new life in America among friends and relatives from the old country. Their contacts in Europe and America helped them on their journey by providing advice for their trip, on whom to see along the way, on where to settle, on what adaptations were needed for life in their new homeland.

Unlike most of their compatriots, the Shillocks' journey included a honeymoon at Niagra Falls. This was followed by a trip down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans and then De Witt County, Texas. There they settled briefly as farmers among Daniel's friends on Schmidt's Creek. When health necessitated a move North, they settled for several years in Massachusetts while Daniel studied English and American law and Mathilda gave music lessons. This was followed by Daniel's brief search for a position in Milwaukee and Madison before settling in La Crosse, Wisconsin in 1856. In 1859 they moved to New Ulm, Minnesota.

Mathilda was born on June 29, 1826, in Koenigsberg,[4] the historic capital of East Prussia. Her family and in-laws were liberal intellectuals, including a sister Marie, who was an artist, and Marie's husband, who was a musician and teacher. She was educated and raised in the traditions of the urban, property owning and professional, educated Germans of East Prussia. She was trained as a musician and was at home in the world of ideas and liberal religious thought. Her training provided her with the means to contribute to the support of the family while Daniel was studying. But it did not prepare her for the rigors of frontier housekeeping and child rearing.

In Koenigsberg she had "belonged to a community of scholars." These friends helped her to find "friendships, work and intellectual companionship" in America.[5] She longed to have her sister Marie and other Koenigsberg family and friends join her in America to form the nucleus of an intellectual German cultural community. She hoped to contribute and stimulate her fellow countrymen to a better life.[6] But she often despaired over their seemingly incessant, unrelenting search for economic success. She was torn between her aspirations for fuller intellectual and personal achievement and the role to which tradition relegated women — that of wife, mother, housekeeper. These tensions and aspirations — along with the struggles of a marriage, the challenges of child rearing, the traumas of family sickness and death, the hardships of surviving frontier life, the fluctuations in the



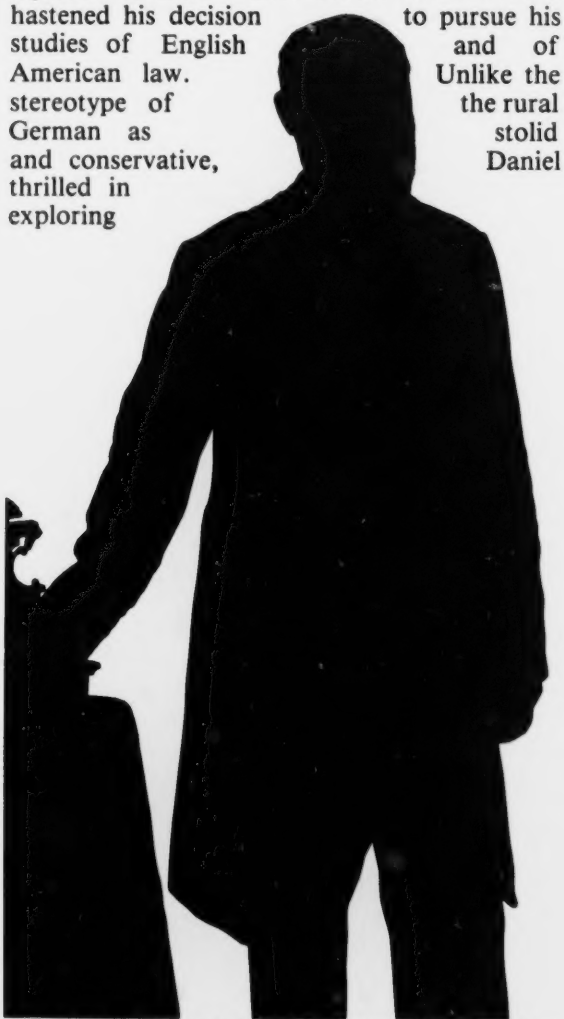
Mathilda Shillock, possibly taken when Daniel served in the Minnesota State Legislature during the 1860s. Mathilda frequently mentioned that she was enclosing family photographs with her letters to her sister. (Gustav Braun Photo: Minnesota Historical Society)

250

family's economic fortunes — were poured out in her letters to her sister. Through her letters she emerges as a warm, loving, courageous individual — a person far stronger than the "timid, hesitating, and very easy going"[7] person she describes herself as being. She overcame hardships and deaths, economic successes and reversals, frontier life and the Sioux Uprising, personal joys and despondency to live to the age of 84. She died in Minneapolis in August, 1910.[8]

Studied Law in Germany

Daniel, born on September 23, 1825, was a member of a prosperous "sturdy country" landed East Prussian family. He studied law in both Koenigsberg and Berlin. In America, however, he decided to first try farming as a means of increasing his financial resources. Fever and injuries sustained when thrown from a horse hastened his decision to pursue his studies of English and of American law. Unlike the stereotype of the rural German as stolid and conservative, Daniel thrilled in exploring both the world around him and the realm of ideas. He studied long hours to master English and to learn and keep up with his profession as an attorney. A growing successful legal business was, however, increasingly hampered by his gradual loss of hearing.



Daniel Shillock, probably a final portrait taken while he was serving in the Legislature. (Gustav Braun Photo: Minnesota Historical Society)

In New Ulm he became active in Republican party politics and served two terms as a Minnesota State Senator and one term as a State Representative. Daniel was a strong individual, confident in his own values and decisions. These traits were combined with a deep concern for justice and for people. Sometimes this led him to defend unpopular individuals and occasionally what probably were considered hopeless cases. He was a man of courage, willing to stand up for what he believed was right even when it resulted in public outcry and mob threats. His strength in standing up to threats succeeded in turning public opinion in his favor, and ultimately enhanced his position in the community. He always met adversity with courage. Daniel died on August 17, 1878.[9]

Daniel and Mathilda shared a keen interest in reading. Both read a wide range of English and German language journals, newspapers, and books. He was a firm believer in education who often stressed the practical and the physical sciences though he did not ignore the philosophical. While Mathilda preferred a liberal religion and was willing to accept an orthodox religion in preference to unthinking irreligion, Daniel fit in with the New Ulm "free-thinkers" who rejected organized religion. He apparently also did not share Mathilda's interest in culture and in having an active social life outside the family.

Both Daniel and Mathilda placed personal integrity and values above the popular convictions of the community. They loved their children and were firm but supportive parents, believing strongly in the importance of discipline, training, and practical (as well as theoretical and cultural), education. Their life together was a chronicle of the journey from German to American, and from frontier to civilization. It is a story of love and separation, of birth and death, of success and failure, of friendships and loneliness, of adaptation and preservation — a very human story that stretches from the cities and farmlands of East Prussia to a frontier and rapidly growing Minnesota.

The Shillocks' journey to the Minnesota frontier is a long and circuitous one covering approximately five years. When they decided to leave for America, friends advised them to see the Hamburg emigration agent, Lorenz Meyer. Meyer also had offices in Liverpool which he operated himself. He invited the young couple into his

home, gave them advice, and booked their passage to America. The Shillocks saw "score after score of German brothers nearly like objects of barter driven in hordes," as they waited for their ship to leave. These Germans were "dependent and without guidance, without knowing one word of English and without any personal knowledge at all about their plans for the trip. . ." Mathilda felt that "most of them appeared thoughtless, languid, careless and it was quite likely, judging from their appearance, that they will fall easy prey to misfortune upon their arrival in America."

Severe Storm on Atlantic

Half way across the Atlantic, on their twelve-day voyage, they encountered a severe storm. The ship's captain claimed it was the worst he had encountered in his twenty-six years at sea. Six crew men either hid or went overboard. Daniel and other able bodied men pitched in as volunteer crew members. They rescued the crew of an English sailing vessel, *Melona,* loaded with iron, that was sunk by the storm.[10]

Mathilda and Daniel decided to leave the *Cleopatra* at St. John's Newfoundland, because the St. Lawrence was still closed with ice. After several weeks of delays and a number of changes in their plans, the newlyweds decided to visit Niagra Falls. "I shed a few tears of emotional delight," she wrote her family and friends, "and gathered my dress together and followed my bold husband who could not tarry long in the lovely spots." Daniel was like a "boy" excited to explore and unafraid of danger. When she expressed her fears Daniel responded and cheered her up. They agreed that they were good for each other. She notes that their differences in temperament "will give us some trouble until we have smoothed out our characteristics."[11]

After spending a delightful time exploring both the United States and Canadian sides of Niagra Falls, Daniel and Mathilda set out for Texas, traveling by packet from Buffalo to Cincinnati. They spent a few days in Cincinnati visiting German acquaintances before taking a boat to New Orleans. They then took a ship to Galveston, followed by a stage to Indianola, arriving there on June 28, 1854. They left in the afternoon for Victoria, where they had to spend the night as no stage was leaving for Yorktown. The next day they purchased a team and wagon. They arrived in Yorktown, "a large German peasant hamlet where every inhabitant is occupied in raising cattle," on July 1.

Poor Opinion of German Farmers

Mathilda was not very impressed, however, with the Germans. She did not approve of the Germans' hiding of their opposition to slavery while living under the "despotic unjust institution of slavery" being practiced by their fellow American citizens. She also did not like the "dirty German country life" they led. She found it "disgusting that the Germans did not send their children to school, read no newspapers, do not read English, are not interested in politics, and live like pigs. . ."

Every American farmer, on the other hand, had a bookshelf with excellent English books, and a rocking chair " in which he rests and thinks. . .The Germans, however, have only kitchen dishes with which to provide for their bellies, and a dirty bed on which the dirty stupid creatures sleep. They all came here very poor, and their quick prosperity awakens in them a race and passion for material gain and the desire to work all the time. . ."[12]

The Shillocks found a small farm they loved on Schmidt's Creek, a half hour from Yorktown. Despite this land being claimed by three different parties, they decided to build a house on it and take their chances on being able to purchase it once the legal problems of who had clear title was resolved.[13]

By fall, 1854, both Daniel and Mathilda had fallen victim to fever. Daniel's problems were further complicated by receiving serious internal injuries when he was thrown by a horse. Both continued to suffer occasional relapses and side effects for many years. Ravaged by disease and disappointed in many of their fellow Germans in the Yorktown area, they decided this was an opportune time for Daniel to return to his interest in law. Farming had always been considered a temporary occupation to provide financial resources — for a career in law and public service for Daniel and cultural activity for Mathilda. They decided it would be easier to move now than in four or five years, and that their health necessitated a move to a northern climate.[14]

Therefore they sold their possessions and home among friends and compatriots and set out for New York, where Daniel was to look for a lawyer with whom he could intern — to improve his knowledge of the American legal system and of the English language. Mathilda's Koenigsberg associations provided her with an introduction to liberal theologian and author, Reverend Theodore Parker. Parker helped Mathilda and Daniel by introducing them to key people and providing letters of introduction. Daniel was introduced to

a famous liberal Massachusetts lawyer, Silas Gifford, who invited Daniel to live with him in his Cape Cod home where Daniel could improve his English while also improving his knowledge of American law.

These contacts also led to Mathilda being offered a position as mucic teacher and church singer in Greenfield. This was a glorious period for her: life was filled with music and intellectual pursuits. She had a comfortable living in attractive surroundings while her income supported Daniel and herself.[15] And Daniel was a "very, very good husband, diligent, alert, simple, true and faithful." Danny is "sensible, so alive mentally, conscious of his unfulfilled life tasks, so full of the right spirit to begin his life work right. One of his pleasures is to look impartially on all people." Mathilda felt she and Daniel were "remarkably united in our intellectual interests. . ." Daniel enjoyed discussing Spinoza and "waxing philosophical" about the "dignity of the individual unfettered by outside circumstances."

When Mathilda replied on one occasion "Oh Danny, we don't need wisdom, we need money," Daniel went out and got a job as an overseer of "twelve Irish boys" who cleaned knives in a knife factory — to provide income until money from Europe arrived. He was paid $20 a month. It was a cultural shock to Mathilda to be married to a working man: in Europe working men were considered coarse and regarded with pity. But in America, she wrote, "the idea of simplicity, independence, strength, energy, moral independence, and finally clean, prosperous domesticity is so bound up in it that the word 'hard-working' engenders respect. . ."[16]

Mathilda was very happy. She felt that both of them "fit remarkably well into American life. The attractive side of their life appeals to us greatly, while the dark side can be observed with a lack of passion or objectivity. At last by free choice I have found the right companion of my life, and with time the right fatherland. . ."[17]

Defers Bar Examination

In the spring of 1856 Daniel decided it was a waste of time to take the bar examination in Massachusetts because they were planning to move West where a license to practice law in Massachusetts would have no value. Daniel mentioned at noon one day that he "should like to go (to Wisconsin) at once." That evening they counted their money. A traveling trunk was bought, and in two weeks Daniel started West. By April 14, 1856, he was looking for work as a lawyer in Milwaukee. Mathilda believed Daniel was "proud and independent — when alone in his ambitions and desires," but she wrote that he was also avoiding "the tests of reality so as to save himself from humiliation." She was worried about the family's fortunes, doubting whether Daniel would provide adequately; and at the same time she was concerned about a possible second German music teacher coming to Greenfield. There would not be enough work to support two.[18]

During the summer months her daily routine consisted of getting up at 5:00 A.M., taking a long walk, having breakfast, and by 8:00 A.M. starting private lessons. For the summer she had eighteen to twenty hour-long private lessons each week. Then at noon she would change her dress in case she wanted to go out in the afternoon, for "every feminine creature from the first lady down to the lowest Irish servant girl changes for the afternoon. Many young ladies even change their hair in a different style for the afternoon. . ."[19]

In Wisconsin Daniel had decided to go to Madison where he knew some Rhineland German farmers who had lived near Greenfield for a time. But Madison offered little opportunity for a German lawyer, so Daniel decided to go to La Crosse, which — with its growing "German population" and prospects of "cheaper living" — held greater promise since it had no German lawyer. Mathilda, increasingly uncertain about their economic fortunes and alone in Greenfield with their twin daughters, Margaretha (Gretchen) and Mary, was furious. She feared that Daniel would "plunge from one quixotic plan to another." She was trying to sell some of her sister Marie's paintings. One was sold in a lottery for $100. But Mathilda found it necessary to use the money as a loan from her sister because of financial difficulties. She decided to go back to giving lessons, and her trip to the West with her daughters was put off until the next spring.[20]

Successful in La Crosse

By May of 1857 Mathilda had joined her husband in frontier La Crosse. It was a difficult transition for her but one she accepted readily. "Daniel," she wrote from La Crosse, "has the full confidence of the German people here . . . He is so successful and loaded down with business . . . [and] beginning to make money . . ." Daniel left for his office overlooking the Mississippi River by eight, came home for dinner at two and supper at seven. They were living in a four-room house. A Swiss law clerk, who worked for Daniel, lived with them. She had a maid to do the cooking and to help take care of the girls. Daniel had planted a vegetable garden and flower

bed. He also had some chickens. On Sundays they would have open house. German friends would stop in for a visit.

This pleasant beginning turned bitter for Mathilda on the death of her beloved daughter Gretchen from rickets, caused by her refusal to eat as a result of teething difficulties. Although Daniel and Mathilda shared intellectual interests, Daniel bottled up his grief and could not give Mathilda the emotional support she needed. When she spoke to Daniel about her loneliness and physical weakness and grief over the death of Gretchen, Daniel could only respond by telling her that it was her duty to be cheerful, to submerge her grief and then cheerfulness would soon be natural. Daniel believed that if a person had enough to eat and drink, a good warm room, health and good books, one should be content.

Mathilda wanted and needed social and cultural involvements. Daniel was self-confident and self-sufficient in himself and his business contacts. His withdrawal from outside involvements increased as his loss of hearing became more severe. While Mathilda recognized this, it did not help her overcome her loneliness and her feelings of isolation and grief. Daniel did have Marie and Mathilda move into rooms above his office in La Crosse.[21]

"Danny," Mathilda wrote to her sister, lacked "gentleness, a softness so essential to a complete human being." He suffered from the "male problem" of not being "able to express and show sympathy and understanding." Despite the lack of support from him, Mathilda felt that "Danny is about the only one with whom I can converse closely and with clear thought. Our mentality is of about the same stature, so that when one of us sees the light he can make the other see it too."[22]

Mathilda found few new friends in La Crosse. The Germans there, she felt, were "for the most part honest"; but they were "poor, coarse and dirty" and lived in homes where one could not go "with any feelings of ease." These people had "no social life" and "no manners." They were without any leisure time. She complained that one could "hardly ever come at the right time." The women were "eternally in the kitchen and the men at work. . ." The La Crosse Americans also, unlike the friends they had left at Greenfield, offered no reason to make an effort to get acquainted.

She classified most of the men from the East as swindlers. And what could the wife of a "bad husband" be when she knew "that the luxuries" were "not paid for, that the quickly acquired wealth" came from cheating "workmen" and that "false bankruptcy is the foundation" of their prosperity? She concluded that "the families of wealth, with homes and family life, are not worth looking up."[23] A month later she modified her comments about American women. Some probably would be as pleasing friends as she had found in Greenfield. Up to now all her acquaintances had been German women.

Mathilda Becomes Discouraged

Mathilda became more and more discouraged. She believed that individuals like her had "no place here in the West . . ." Work on the frontier was "heavy" and the pleasures "coarse." Life was filled with a "striving and attaining." This did not interest her. "To strive for possessions, to skimp, to be a slave spiritually, however comfortable, to hold that which you have gained and finally to eat, drink and live well — but to continue to work from habit and to pile up more": this was the frontiermen's driving force.

The men were day laborers "no matter what they do," working for "money and the ever-increasing daily bread and finally loving it." Women "cook and wash, then cook again." All they want is to cook well, have the husband bring home more, and to have a warm house. "On Sunday they wear clean clothes, that is the only difference." Mathilda had little in common with the German women of La Crosse, "all" of whom "were former servant girls and so accustomed to hard work and easily satisfied by the possession of a little property." The goal was to make money. "Hardly anyone comes with the purposes of living like a human being." The community, she felt, lacked the essentials: liberal religion, intellectual life, appreciation of nature and art, intelligent conversation, real social intercourse.[24]

Mathilda's feeling of isolation was increased by Daniel's growing involvement in work and activities outside the home. He took up the new rage on the frontier, chess, with a passion. He was jokingly dubbed the "chess king of La Crosse."[25] Daniel also became increasingly involved in German-American activities, including the seemingly inevitable "beer drinking" at a local German bar. It was expected that a regular guy" would "treat" and would drink. After he came home drunk three times, Mathilda would worry every time he came home late that he would again be drunk — suffering from what she considered "one of the unfortunate aspects of American society" to be wholeheartedly adopted by the German immigrants. His brief sojourn into being "one of the boys," and his late hours at the office

An 1860 lithograph view of New Ulm. Daniel Shillock's clients included the Globe Mills and the German Land Association. He was closely associated with the editor of the New Ulm *Pioneer* and a member of the Turners. (Lithograph drawn by J. Berndt: Minnesota Historical Society)

ended when Mathilda, in anger and frustration, poured out her bitterness, loneliness, and feelings of isolation and grief. Daniel responded with support and sympathy. He decided to do his studying at home in the early morning and to spend his evenings with the family. The family and marriage relationship, Mathilda felt, entered a new period of harmony and closeness.[26]

Other problems, however, still existed. The effects of the panic of 1857 increased the family's seemingly precarious financial situation as money was short and Daniel's clients often could not pay. This was made worse for Mathilda because she had not idea of Daniel's income, holdings, or debts. Daniel, in typical fashion, handled all money matters; he made all purchases and did so without involving his wife. This was a recurring source of tension. Mathilda worried that if Daniel were to die she and her child would become paupers. It was then, with a great deal of relief, that she heard from her sister in 1858 that she was to receive an inheritance. She felt secure that now she would at least have enough money to get back to her beloved Greenfield and be assured of not having to beg. Daniel agreed that she should keep her inheritance.

Move to New Ulm

Just as Mathilda was feeling a new sense of security and family harmony, and beginning to make a few close friends in La Crosse, Daniel decided to move again. He had heard about an opening for a German lawyer. The position paid a small annual stipend plus free rent on a house and some shareholdings in the community. This community turned out to be New Ulm. He moved to New Ulm in the spring of 1859, with Mathilda following during the summer.[27]

The first advertisement for "D.G. Shillock, Attorney at Law, New Ulm, Minnesota" appeared in the *New Ulm Pioneer* on July 23, 1859. It stated that he could practice before all Minnesota and United States courts, handle titles and land transactions, and deal with money matters between Europe and America. His legal business

grew rapidly. Many of the pre-Civil War legal ads on foreclosures, debt collections, summons, etc. had D.G. Shillock as the attorney. The court records show D.G. Shillock as an attorney in many cases — ranging from divorce, embezzlement, and incorporations to murder. His clients generally won.[28]

Daniel's success, however, became a source of community outrage when he succeeded in having an Indian charged with murder acquitted, a French half-breed found not guilty, and obtained a reduced sentence for a young town clerk charged with embezzlement — his real crime was that he had been "careless in keeping records." In early March, 1860, his enemies held a meeting to chase Daniel out of town. Mathilda wrote her sister that "mass rule or rabble reign, . . . lynch law is the natural pattern of young states . . ." "Danny," she claimed, had "one or two bitter enemies whose existence is threatened by his superiority. These men were poor lawyers but good trouble makers, and they know very well how to represent to the great masses his [Daniel's] honorable but defiant attitude as exceedingly dangerous." Daniel's actions were portrayed by the mob as a "betrayal of German culture," and he was charged as having made an "alliance with rascals, and other nonsense." "Away," they shouted, "with the advocate" of "swindlers, with the man without fear who will not be bound or intimidated by parties, cliques, or bribes."

Besides these criticisms of Daniel, Mathilda wrote, "I have the misfortune to possess a brown velvet mantilla, . . . and then I have the criminal habit of addressing everyone formally instead of familiarly, using 'Sie' instead of 'Du' in the South German peasant manner." Mathilda was also criticized for having a servant girl and occasionally going out for a walk in the "fresh morning air." Daniel, they charged, did not "treat enough in the saloons, and I don't gossip enough." This made them unpopular. All that was needed was a rabble rouser. "One fine day," she wrote, "one hundred men appeared before the house yelling: 'Out of New Ulm — else we will burn down your house and maltreat you.' That is so-called 'popular justice.' " Daniel and a couple of prominent New Ulm citizens barricaded themselves in the home of his friends. They hoped that as a result the mob would not harm Mathilda and the children. Daniel and Mathilda parted in preparation for the mob's onslaught with their "glances saying 'stay at your post, do not yield. I would rather not live than be submerged in vulgarity. To live without valor is death.' " As the news spread that Daniel "intended to sell his life and honor dearly," the mob backed down. Daniel emerged with increased community respect and honor.[29]

Members of the 1865 Minnesota Senate grouped around Governor Miller, who was a German-born Civil War hero. (Photo by Whitney of St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society)

Becomes Active in Politics

Except for his failure to live by the socializing and popular cultural customs, Daniel fit in well with New Ulm. He agreed with those who had no time for organized religion. He relished liberal ideas. It was easy for him to become active and to rise quickly to prominence among the reform-minded, anti-slave German Republicans of Brown County. He was asked to give the keynote address at the Schiller-Goethe celebration in New Ulm on August 28, 1859. His speech discussed how, in little more than three years, this wilderness had been transformed into a land "with thousands of farmers, the homesteads of the free and industrious," how a new state had been carved by the lives and sweat of the pioneers who created a prosperous society "as thoroughly charming as the wilderness." He called the people of New Ulm and frontier America the "heroes of modern times." It was not "Napoleon with his mobile cannon" or the discipline of "the French military academy" that provided the basis for success. Rather, he started, it is the "discipline of life"; the skill, knowledge, and learning they transplanted into the Minnesota wilderness which brought them to prosperity and to what had seemed to be "unattainable heights."[30]

Shortly after his speech Daniel was elected one of four township delegates to the Republican District Convention. The local Republicans unanimously supported a call for the removal of

the plank in the state Republican platform which disclaimed any interest to interfere with slavery in slave states. They wanted a stronger anti-slavery stance. They also opposed the "mingling of religion and politics" and condemned all Sunday and Temperance laws. "Religion in any shape and form never shall compose part of education in our public schools . . .," individuals "of whatever creed or denomination, or without any creed, Protestants, Catholics, Jews, infidels, or atheists, are entitled to equal rights and privileges, and deserve equal protection . . ."

Daniel and his fellow Republicans pledged that they would not support anyone in the upcoming election who did not fully "confirm the above specified principles." Their convention delegates were instructed to support William Pfänder of New Ulm for state legislative endorsement.[31] Daniel continued his rise in the local Republican Party. In 1862, he was elected to the Minnesota State Senate. He was re-elected without opposition in 1864. Daniel was the only German-born State Senator serving during the 1863-66 sessions.[32] Apparently some local dissatisfaction was developing, however, and Daniel was endorsed and elected as a State Representative instead of Senator in 1866. He served in the 1867 session.[33]

A windmill grist mill near New Ulm. ca. 1865. (H.J. Jacoby Photo: Minnesota Historical Society)

Frank Erd's Variety Store in New Ulm, which survived the 1862 attack on the city in the Sioux War. (Brown County Historical Society)

Minnesota Street, New Ulm in 1871, looking north from Center Street. (Brown County Historical Society)

During his first session as a State Senator Daniel Shillock served on the Internal Improvements and State Library Senate Standing Committees. In the 1864 and 1865 sessions he was also serving on the Indian Affairs and Emigration Standing Committees. In 1866 he was appointed to the powerful Judiciary Committee, and also served on the Banks, Indian Affairs, and Emigration Standing Committees.[34] He made several trips to Washington D.C. to lobby successfully for claims payments to reimburse the frontier settlers for their losses in the Sioux Uprising of 1862 and for other local interest bills. Daniel represented most of the New Ulm area claimants.[35] Like most State Senators, most of his time and most of the bills he supported concerned local constituent interests. As a State Representative he served on the Judiciary, Railroads, and Banks Committees, and on the Joint Committee on Printing.[36] He introduced and worked for other legislation involving legal reform, adoption, soldier bounties, railroads, and immigration.

Mathilda is not Impressed

Mathilda was not impressed with Daniel's political success. "New Ulm is as attached to him [Daniel] today as if he were its savior," she wrote from St. Paul (as a refugee from the Sioux attack on New Ulm), on December 9, 1862. This was "the same New Ulm that three years ago wanted to lynch him and drive us out. Naturally he enjoys the justification and I don't begrudge him that feeling. He is splendid, but in many other businesses, family, and marriage areas, he is 'an ass'! I mean this quite seriously, for in so many other ways he might have pleased me better and have done better for us . . . Oh for a little tenderness, a little petting — what a difference that would have made to me . . ."

She was not at all certain that her husband's success would last, nor was she taken in by the plaudits of his political friends. With great perception she wrote:

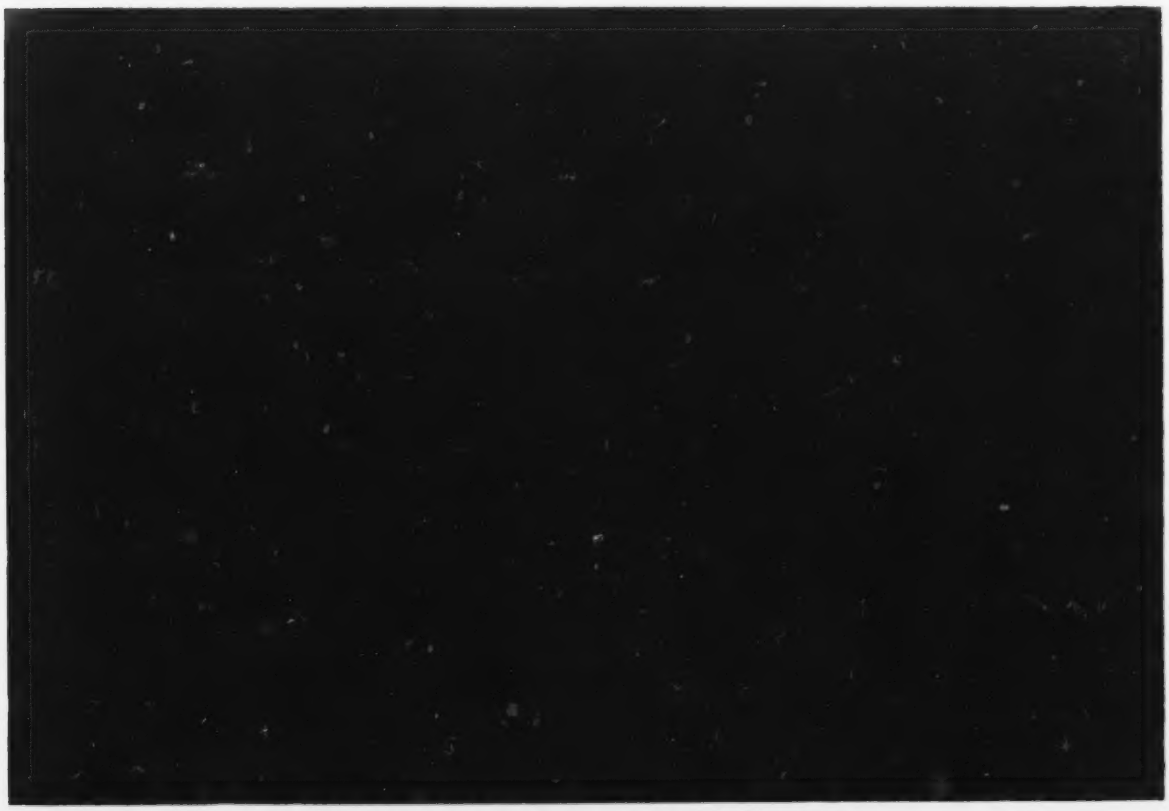
> Our Governor and his young clique need his vote and flatter and make much of him. He accepts it all — cool and unmoved, duping these gentlemen with his air of pious simplicity in which he welcomes all approaches while all the time he had long before quietly decided on his course of action in carrying out the best interests of his constituents.[37]

Success in politics and in getting Congress to pay the 1862 claims meant both popularity and improved financial standing and security. But Daniel maintained that it was too expensive to continue living in St. Paul. He insisted in 1865 that they move back to New Ulm, where he could pursue more easily his legal and political careers. Mathilda felt like a victim of circumstances, for, as she wrote her sister on May 3, 1865: "I hate little hamlets." They offered her few outlets for her cultural and intellectual interests. And they were undoubtedly deeply associated with the deaths of her children; of eight children born to the Shillocks, four died in childhood.

Mathilda had not been happy with the move to New Ulm the first time. On December 8, 1859, she described her disgust over the Germans in her new home:

> Wherever you go it is ever the same, not only coarse, but above all godless. Otherwise New Ulm might be a pleasant abode, with its simple pastoral character, its healthy climate; but everywhere the smallness of the German character emerges. Secretly everyone advises me to pay no attention to any of my fellow citizens if I care to live in peace, for nowhere else are there people like these in New Ulm with their gossip and insinuations. It is funny and yet so very sad . . . Uncouthness is so great here that ministers and physicians are exciuded from the settlements . . .

By 1860 she was less critical, for "However rough the world about us is, yet there is freedom, a freshness, a hopefulness which surpasses all European living conditions . . ." American life, she felt, had great appeal. It was ever changing, provided many opportunities, offered full freedom of movement where "new groupings of nationalities occur with new customs arising." America offered everyone the "chance of hewing out a new pattern of life." She lived in Minnesota because "the foundations of American life are better and more just than those of Europe," and for the joy of giving "that independence to our children" and being "by independent people is splendid." She believed that the "German peasant, so patient, economical and dilligent, is in his right place here. At least he has a fine farm for himself and next to him one for each child . . ."[38]



A view of New Ulm from Hermann's Heights. (Brown County Historical Society)

The Schell and Bernard Brewery in New Ulm, which was built in 1861. (Brown County Historical Society)

Becomes More Domestic

Her acceptance of life in New Ulm led her to temporarily be at peace with the idea of domesticity. For, "my life after all is of no value except in its relation to my children . . . Though this conviction has come to me so late in life, it now is my firm conviction that domestic activity is woman's only true, real, common and beautiful calling." Since she had dismissed her maid, Mathilda felt "the falseness in my former mode of life. How much I have missed. How helpless and futile I have made my own existence. I excluded the poor, helpless servant girl from my own life and gave her nothing, and so let domestic life be really foreign to me."[39]

Two years earlier, however, she had expressed greater reservations:

> With returning strength I may decide to accept my fate without resistance and change myself into a steaming, puffing, working, cooking instrument as a suitable guise for the real working woman of the West. Frankly I shudder at the thought! . . . The natural and trained trend of my tastes is something very different. I hate the eternal rattle of house-keeping. House-keeping which is its own goal carried on as the only aim and joy of life . . ."[40]

Mathilda then wanted more out of life than the typical family and small circle of friends. "You cannot realize," she wrote her sister on November 17, 1858, "how my unsatisfied ambition gnaws at my heart." She was unhappy in her everyday life and frustrated in never being able to "attain anything really artistic." She had expanded her interests from those of her youth when she "tried the language of feeling — music" to "an irresistable desire" to "subject the world of thought." However, she had to give up her ambition to write well enough in English to be published in the "better English magazines."

She wondered whether her sister found it easy to give up her individuality, her identity, to become "Madam Roeckner." "To be a wife and mother," she wrote, "is to be like a negative of the camera — obscure, only to appear again in reproduction." The positive image, which she termed the masculine image, "receives name, attention, and honor. Are we not really such negatives and only constituent parts, and appear

only indirectly in the world?" She felt too drained from the responsibilities of being a mother and housewife to have any energy left to pursue her ambition as a writer.

By May 28, 1860, she wrote with irony:

> One fine thing about housework is that while it exercises your body and keeps everything bright and cheerful yet it leaves your mind free . . .

In another letter she described her routine as a housewife:

> Now when I get up ever so softly before daylight, I greet the sun when it rises. When Danny and the little ones begin to stir, I am through with all the soapy splashings and feel as if I had really accomplished something. After that everything follows a regular routine. Danny carries out the water and we sit down to freshly baked bread and our breakfast. Then Danny chops the wood. I dress the children, comb my hair, put on a fresh dress. We eat dinner at noon. I wash the dishes quickly and then am a lady for over two hours. I play with Peter, who sleeps most of the morning. Marie rocks him and if he is awake he sits up and watches us. On the whole things go smoothly; only on some days when the children are restless they interfere and hinder me. Then I sing arias from operas just as loud as I can and drown them out or try to; when that does not help I threaten a whipping. If I only could accomplish all there is to do! How fine a girl must feel when in her healthy young vigor she feels herself equal to any task. Work is as easy for her as knitting is for me. And she finds nothing difficult except leisure. A series of little duties connects one day with the next and weaves it into the whole of existence for her. She does not feel the longing for the distant which led me along the paths of ambition and it's snares . . .[41]

"I Have Grown So Bitter"

Following the Sioux attack on New Ulm and her flight with her two children to St. Paul, she wrote:

> I have grown so bitter . . . I seek God and cannot find him — not in the decrees that have governed my life nor in that which I see daily about me . . . My devotion and dependence on Papa and my last two children becomes more placid in its nature. What I need is a star to lead me through the darkness of my life. I am so wicked. I hate the happy people. I hate Louise Herrendorf because all her children are living and her hard domestic life seems a reproach to me when I compare it with mine. Why did I not grow healthy and strong as she is with my miserable housework and in my lack of skill in successfully caring for my children? You may be interested to hear that both Danny and I regret heartily my half education; that is certainly where the blame lies, and all that I am going through now is only the consequences or punishment for that: a run-down body, emotionalism, and shattered dreams. Oh what haven't I lost in my three children? . . . these three were more closely related to me spiritually . . . If God still existed!

She could not find solace or comfort in God. Total dependence on God seemed like self annihilation to her. "Except for you, Marie," she continued, "Danny is my only only friend. Everything else has failed . . . everywhere coolness and superficiality, falseness and strife, hate and coarseness — the first to be found among the Americans and the last with the Germans."[42]

But by 1865 and the return to New Ulm she felt alone and isolated, especially since Daniel's schedule as a successful lawyer, politician, and businessman kept him away from Mathilda and the children for long days and out-of-town trips. She felt that for "Danny I personally am nothing more than the caretaker and mother of his children, whom he loves dearly . . ." "But," she protested, "Why am I only that?" Only adults could have "social intercourse." She found little hope elsewhere, because "New Ulm has no women or men who look at me except as an eating, buying, dress-wearing generality." When she challenged Daniel on the need of human beings for the company of other humans, he responded, "I don't know about that. Man needs work to be happy." His growing deafness, she noted, was also a factor in driving him further and further into himself.[43]

With these attitudes and the realities of life in New Ulm, it is not surprising that Mathilda's

doubts about the stability of their status in New Ulm were all too real. A small group of residents spread dissatisfaction over the 1862 claims settlement. Daniel had "not received enough compensation," they claimed, for "individual damages." He, they jealously maintained, "got rich from handling the claims." All Daniel supposedly was interested in were his own self-interests. Daniel, with his "defiant feeling of independence," and his lack of concern "about socializing," and his failure to "treat" enough at the local saloons was portrayed as snobbish. Even their children were being harassed, Mathilda felt, out of jealousy over Daniel's position in the village.[44]

The problems in New Ulm continued, and with the return of mob rule in the lynching of two Mankato fur traders — one of whom had stabbed a local resident at a Christmas Day, 1866, party in a New Ulm saloon — Mathilda's concerns probably seemed all too real. In the summer of 1867 the Shillocks made a permanent move to St. Anthony. They built a house at the corner of Marshall and Fifth, and Daniel opened an office at 29 North Washington Avenue in Minneapolis.[45]

Although the family experienced some additional hardships and tragedy, they now lived in a rapidly-growing urban area which offered cultural, social, and educational opportunities.

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An 1867 fascimile by Albert Reager of Minneapolis and St. Anthony. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Notes

[1]Also spelled Schillock.

[2]Mathilda Shillock, St. John's Newfoundland, to friends and relatives in Koenigsberg, Germany, April 26, 1854, the Daniel Shillock and Family Papers, Archives/Manuscript Division of the Minnesota Historical Society. The letters have been translated by Mathilda and Daniel's daughter, Anna Felicia Shillock. As all sixty-five letters written between April 26, 1854 and August 5, 1867, used for this paper were from Mathilda, to family and friends, citations will refer only to Shillock, place letter was written, and date.

[3]John C. Massmann, *German Immigration to Minnesota, 1850-1890,* doctoral dissertation (University of Minnesota: 1966), 229.

[4]Now Kaliningrad, U.S.S.R.

[5]Shiela C. Robertson and Kathleen Ann O'Brien, *A Social History of Women:* Mathilda Tolksdorf Shillock, (A Women Historians of the Midwest Project: 1981), 8. This is an interesting study unit designed both for elementary and secondary level students, with funding by the Women's Educational Equity Act.

[6]For example, see Shillock letters, Schmidt's Creek Yorktown, Texas, August 3, 1854; Greenfield, Massachusetts, February 17, 1856.

[7]Shillock, Carleton, Louisiana, June 23, 1854.

[8]*Minneapolis Tribune,* August 5, 1910. She died in her apartment at 812 Fourth Street Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

[9]"'Daniel G. Schillock* (Gestorben an Sonnabend, 17, August 1878)," *Die Volkszeitung* (weekly edition), St. Paul, Minnesota, Thursday, August 15, 1878.

[10]Shillock, St. John's Newfoundland, April 26, 1854.

[11]Shillock, Yorktown, Texas, June 23, 1854.

[12]Shillock, Yorktown, Texas, July 5, 1854. Also see August 3, September 28 and December 1, 1854 letters.

[13]Shillock, Yorktown, Texas, August 3, 1854.

[14]Shillock, Yorktown, Texas, September 12, 1854. Also see September 28 and December 1, 1854 letters.

[15]Shillock, New York City, New York, January 21, 1855. Also see Boston, Massachusetts, March 18, March 26, April 19, 1855, and Greenfield, Massachusetts, June 10, June 13, 1855.

[16]Shillock, Greenfield, Massachusetts, July 16, 1855.

[17]Shillock, New York City, New York, January 21, 1855.

[18]Shillock, Greenfield, Massachusetts, April 14, 1856.

[19]Shillock, Greenfield, Massachusetts, May 22, 1856.

[20]Shillock, Greenfield, Massachusetts, October 25, 1856.

[21]Shillock, La Crosse, Wisconsin, [November], 1857 and January 8, 1858.

[22]Shillock, La Crosse, Wisconsin, May 15, 1858.

213

[23]Shillock, La Crosse, Wisconsin, [November], 1857.

[24]Shillock, La Crosse, Wisconsin, January 8, 1858.

[25]Shillock, La Crosse, Wisconsin, November 18, 1858.

[26]Shillock, La Crosse, Wisconsin, March 4, 1859.

[27]Shillock, La Crosse, Wisconsin, May 15, 1858. Economic matters and the inheritance are mentioned in other letters; for example, see New Ulm, December 8, 1859 and April-May 5, 1860.

[28]For example, *New Ulm Pioneer,* August 6, 20, September 3, 10, 1860, contain legal notices with D.G. Shillock as attorney. Also see *District Court Record Book A,* Brown County, 18-25, 29-31.

[29]Shillock, New Ulm, March 12, 1860.

[30]*New Ulm Pioneer,* September 10, 1859.

[31]*Ibid.,* September 3, 1859. Also see September 17, 1859 issue.

[32]*Legislative Manual, Fifth Session,* Frederick Driscoll, St. Paul, 1863, 42., . . . *Sixth Session* . . . 50-51; . . . *Seventh Session* . . . 45., . . . *Eighth Session* . . . 44-45.

[33]*Ibid. Ninth Session,* 80-81.

[34]*Legislative Manual, Fifth Session,* 37-38; *Sixth Session,* 39-40; *Seventh Session,* 37-38; *Eighth Session* 37-38.

[35]Shillock, St. Paul, Minnesota, December 9, 1862. Also see St. Anthony, Minnesota, July 31, 1864 and November 27, 1864. She was a patient at the American Health Institute.

[36]*Legislative Manual, Ninth Session,* 73-75.

[37]Shillock, St. Paul, Minnesota, January 9, 1863.

[38]Shillock, New Ulm, Minnesota, April 1, 1860.

[39]Shillock, New Ulm, Minnesota, March 12, 1860.

[40]Shillock, La Crosse, Wisconsin, January 8, 1858.

[41]Shillock, New Ulm, Minnesota, April, 1860.

[42]Shillock, St. Paul, Minnesota, January 9, 1863.

[43]Shillock, New Ulm, Minnesota, August 14, 1865.

[44]*Ibid.* and Shillock, New Ulm, Minnesota, September 11, 1865.

[45]Shillock, St. Anthony Falls, August 5, 1867; *Tribune's Directory for Minneapolis and St. Anthony, 1871-72,* 134; *Tribune's . . ., 1873-1874,* 298 and 433.

The Challenges of German Genealogical Research

by Fay S. Dearden

Those of us of German heritage are often challenged in our search for genealogical information because of a number of very real problems. Two of the most common ones facing the German genealogist are: first, difficulty in obtaining records because of frequent changes in German boundaries; and second, obstacles in reading and understanding the German language. It is the purpose of this article to show that, although some difficulties encountered in genealogical research are insurmountable, many of them can be overcome. For this reason, it is important that the researcher become acquainted with these obstacles and the many materials available to help him overcome them.

Problems sometimes arise, for instance, because of boundary changes that have occurred during the past several hundred years. France and England had achieved unity of government in their countries as early as the thirteenth century. Consequently, their boundaries have remained somewhat stable. Germany, however, has been comprised of many different units at different times during the past 300 years. In times past, there was no such country as "Germany." In fact, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were 1,789 Germanys; in the early 1800's there were 34; at the end of the 1800's there was one; and today there are two Germanys.

This information is not only interesting but, for the genealogical research, absolutely essential because of the direct link between the changing of the boundaries and the finding of genealogical records.

At first glance, 1,789 Germanys — each a sovereign, independent state with its own records — might make a researcher wish he were a Scotchman instead of a German! But we must remember that the states were not responsible for the records we are searching for. The church had the responsibility of keeping parish registers. Only toward the end of the eighteenth century did a few sections of Germany begin keeping secular records. When the French occupied parts of Germany in the late 1700's, the occupied areas were compelled to collect vital records. So, the Germans began to realize that those records needed to be kept.

Beginning in 1806, Jewish civil records began to be collected. After the synagogues were burned in 1938, these civil records were the only ones left of the Jewish people.

Lest we think that all places in the "Germanys" kept civil records as early as 1800, it is important to note that it was not until 1871 that it became the law of the German Empire that civil records were to be collected. From 1875 on, Germans were married not only by their pastor or priest but also by a state official, most often in a city hall.

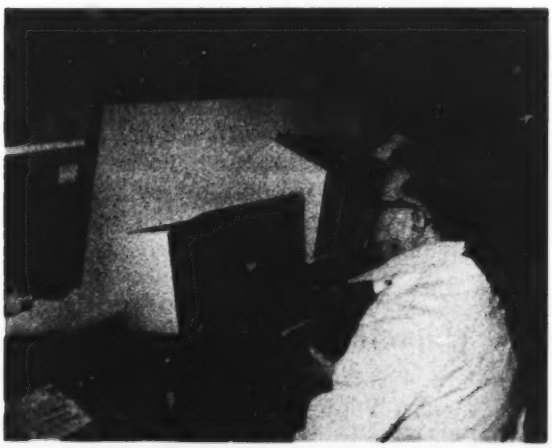
Unite into German Empire

Perhaps it is appropriate to mention here that in 1871 the German states finally united to become the "Kaiserreich," the German Empire. Therefore, instead of allowing the church to collect vital records on an exclusive basis, the government felt it necessary to do so also. This might lead one to conclude that the German researcher would have easier access to German records after 1871. However, the new German Empire included only the Germans of central Europe, leaving out millions of Germans in east central and eastern Europe, as well as the Russian Germans. It is very possible for a German to have his "roots" in the Ukraine or Rumania, a fact that can make genealogical research even more confusing.

Also, the German Empire did not last very long — only from 1871 until 1914. After the defeat of 1918, Germany's boundaries were changed again, with 25,000 square miles of its territory going to neighboring countries. Hitler's regime regained some lost territories, but the defeat of World War II left Germany's boundaries even more drastically altered.

These historical bits of information are important to the researcher. One of his ancestors

An L.D.S. Branch Genealogical Library (Mormon) has Microfilm readers such as these at which researchers can view microfilmed birth, marriage and death records of ancestors. (Courtesy Family Tree Press)



The L.D.S. Branch Genealogical Library has Microfiche readers for viewing the Genealogical Library Catalog as well as millions of names of deceased persons in the Salt Lake computerized files. (Courtesy Family Tree Press)

might have lived in the same town all his life, but his country could have had three different names.

Though these problems exist, there are many good records available. Because the Germans are such natural-born record keepers, their records have been carefully and accurately written and stored for posterity. In areas where there were many wars, records were made in duplicate so one set could be hidden or moved to a safe place — or to archives where many of them have been microfilmed by the Genealogical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormon). This library has an excellent German collection. As of 1982, there were over 50,000 rolls of microfilm for West Germany, 12,000 rolls for Poland, and about 2,000 rolls for East Germany. These are augmented at the rate of 150 to 250 rolls of film per month. This is only fifteen percent of the materials in Germany which need to be filmed. Since it is the goal of the L.D.S. Genealogical Society to gather records on everyone who has lived, it is not astonishing to see the progress in filming that is made every year. These films are available to be sent to branch genealogical libraries throughout the world.

Film Collections Available

West Germany has the most films available for the researcher. Baden-Württemburg, Rheinland-Pfalz, and Nordrhein-Westfalen are particularly well represented. East Germany has lagged behind because of the government's lack of interest in the project, but that country recently has allowed about 2,000 films to be made. Silesia, Pomerania, East and West Prussia, and Brandenburg have fairly complete records because of Polish cooperation in the filming. These areas, as you remember, are now under Polish jurisdiction.

Most of the German film collection is made up of civil and parish records of births, marriages and deaths. Religions represented are Catholic, Lutheran, Mennonite, Dutch Reformed, Evangelical Reformed, Mormon and Jewish. Most of the parish records cover the time since the mid-seventeenth century. The earliest records are in Latin; in the eighteenth century both Latin and German were used. Since the early nineteenth century the language used in the records is, in most cases, German.

The most valuable church records are the following:

Baptism registers (Taufregister) contain the date of baptism, and the names of the child, parents, and godparents.
Marriage registers (Trauregister) list the name, age, residence, and occupation of the bride and groom, date and place of marriage, and, quite often, the name of the parents.
Death registers (Sterberegister) contain the name, occupation, and age of the deceased, cause of death, date, and place of burial, and, in certain instances, names of relatives.

The civil registers began around 1875 in most areas of Germany. Civil records are often the best because the birth date is given rather than the christening date. Parish records often give the christening date, which may or may not be close to the birth date. In addition to the parish and civil records, migration records are among the

most useful. Since the Germans were such a mobile people and many millions of them came to the United States, these migration records are very valuable.

Before 1800, there were three main reasons why Germans left their native country. First, there was much religious persecution. After the break with the Catholic church, Lutherans had many conflicts with Catholics. Many Lutherans were punished, tortured, or even killed for their opposition to the Catholic church. In later years, other denominations were persecuted by both Catholics and Lutherans (where they were the established church).

Second, there have often been wars and overcrowded conditions in Germany. The Thirty Years War in 1618 was particularly destructive. People became discouraged and left.

Third, their rulers taxed the people heavily and oppressed them in order to support the nobility and the armed forces. Many Germans wanted to escape these conditions.

Migrating Patterns Change

After 1800, the reasons for migrating changed somewhat. There were many who became discouraged by mass production, crop failures, unavailability of land, and more wars. They heard about America, the land of prosperity, and wanted to go there for a better life.

Luckily the Hamburg Passenger Lists are available to the researcher as a part of the Salt Lake Genealogical Library's film collection. Between 1859 and 1891, thirty percent of all European immigrants passed through Hamburg. Many Swiss, Austrians, and southern Germans embarked from Le Havre, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Bremen. Unfortunately the Bremen records were destroyed by fire. To obtain information on the Antwerp Passenger Lists, write to the *Gemeente-Archief* at Antwerp, Belgium. For information on the Le Havre Passenger Lists, write to:

Monsier Le Directeur des Services D.' Archives
Archives Departmentales
Prefectures
76 Seine - Martime = Court Clemenceau
Rouen, France

The Hamburg Passenger Lists cover all persons who embarked from Hamburg between

Pictures of old churches in which your ancestors were baptized and married are often helpful in verifying their religion. This is the old Evangelical (Lutheran) Church in Roesnitz, Schlesien. (Courtesy Family Tree Press)

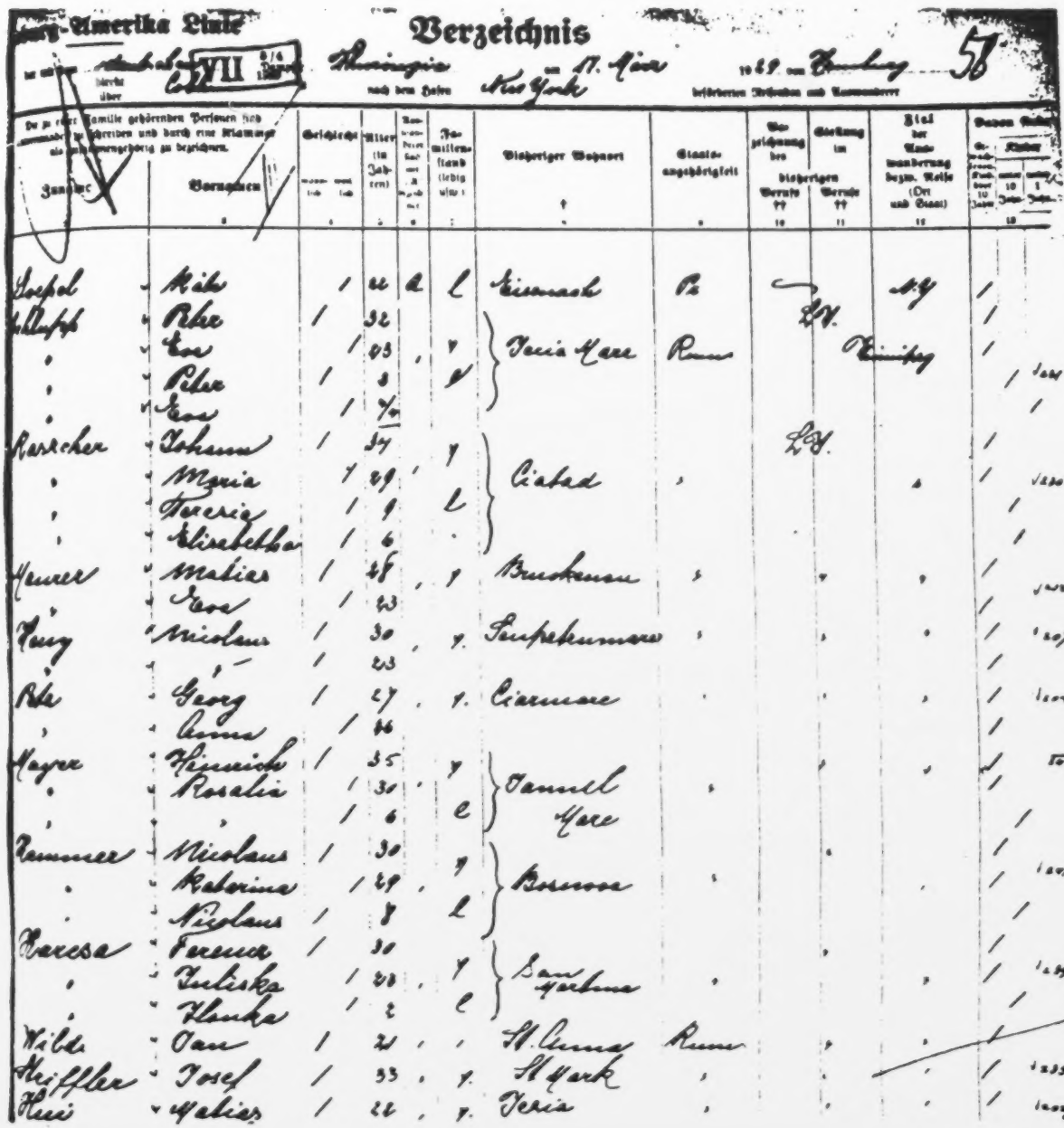
1850 and 1934. The lists are arranged chronologically by date of departure of the ship, giving the name, sex, age, place of origin, occupation, number of family members, and destination of passengers. The lists are divided into two sections. The "direct" lists deal with passengers who went directly from Hamburg to the final destination. The "indirect" passenter lists deal with passengers who were going to stop enroute at other ports before going to their final destination. Both lists should be searched.

For an example of a passenger list see Fig. 1.

Both direct and indirect passenger lists have indexes available. Some of these indexes are kept in the branch genealogical libraries. The actual lists themselves need to be ordered from Salt Lake.

Another less-well-known collection of migration records is called the migration records of Baden-Württemberg. These records mainly cover the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and consist of about 800 rolls.

Figure 1 - Hamburg Passenger List Excerpt



218 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Move Within Germany

At the same time that many Germans were moving abroad, many others were moving within their own country. This moving about was recorded in municipal records in the city halls. New arrivals in the towns had to register their addresses with the police; this is still done today. When Germany was still a conglomeration of many small autonomous areas, independent cities kept their own records. One type was the guild record. Guilds were important in early times to anyone who wanted to practice a trade or a craft in a specific town. Such a person had to belong to a guild and was recorded as a member. Other records kept by the independent cities were the citizenship rolls, militia muster rolls, tax rolls, and medical records.

Later, when states (that is, small nations), emerged, military records became of great importance because states had to defend themselves or tried to make military conquests. Prussia, the largest state in Germany in the nineteenth century, comprised three-fifths of the entire population. It achieved this position primarily because of its military prowess. The genealogical library has 150 rolls of military records of the Prussian army.

Old photographs of ancestors can help the genealogist in his search for information. In this photo a grandmother's bandaged, swollen arm helped to verify the cause of her death some time later. Taken in Roesnitz, Schlesien, Prussia in 1930. (Courtesy Family Tree Press)

Properly identified photographs help one to find previously unknown members of a family. Taken in Roesnitz, Schlesien, Prussia around 1938. (Courtesy Family Tree Press)

German legal records are also available. Especially valuable are the probate records from the Berlin area from 1616 to 1932. And, amazingly enough, many of these records are on film at the genealogical library. The important fact to remember is that, at the present time, the microfilmed records of Germany are organized according to the current jurisdictions or boundaries under which they fall. This is important because now there are two German states, East and West Germany. It is also well to remember that some provinces that were once part of the German Empire are now part of France, Belgium, Denmark, Poland, and Russia.

Figure 2 shows the German Empire states with their present-day names. Notice the new country names also (The parenthesized names indicate German spelling.)

Because the Microfilm Card Catalog (MCC) of the L.D.S. Library is catalogued according to *current* political jurisdictions, you may have to follow certain steps to gain access to the films pertaining to your ancestors.

To use the MCC, as it is commonly called, you must:

— know the *name* of your ancestor.
— know the approximate *date* of the event you are researching
— know the exact name of the *place* in which the event occurred (town of birth, for example)

Sometimes, some detective work needs to be done in order to find these facts. The following search guide may be of help:

1) *Research local sources*

Relatives, census records, vital records, photos, newspapers, old Bibles, family histories, naturalization records, etc. may be of great help. Family histories, for example, are often very valuable sources. The L.D.S. Library probably has the largest collection of family histories available. They come into the library from all over the world. As people compile their lines, they turn the information into the library. Vital records are often the only source that gives the exact place of origin. A helpful brochure for locating vital records is "Where to Write for Birth and Death Records." It is available from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare — Public Health Service.

Sometimes old photos actually prove a town's existence. Roesnitz (Rosnitz) in the Kreis (district) of Leobschütz, in the province (state) of Ober-Schlesien was impossible to find on most maps. This photo verified its existence. (Courtesy Family Tree Press)

Figure 2 - German Empire States and Their Present-day Names

PRESENT DAY NAMES FOR GERMAN PLACES

This CHART can help you find today's name for the places in the old German Empire which are now under new political jurisdiction or rule. From maps or other sources, you can find the old name of a town and the province (state) in which it was situated. In order to find the present day name of the town and state, look for the state under the column marked "Old State" and follow it across to the right. You will find out the name of the area it is in, the name of the present country, the present name of the state and, by viewing the microfilm in the last column, you can find the present day name of the town. If more than one microfilm is listed, you will have to look in all of them that pertain to your area. Note that #1,045,448 (Mueller's Film) is repeatedly cited. Translation helps for Mueller's Film follow this chart. For a description of Films #583,457, #824,243 and #844,922, see the bibliography.

German Empire of 1871

Old State (Province) *	Area	Present Country	Present State	Film No.
ALSACE-LORRAINE (ELSASS-LOTHRINGEN	Northern portion (Lothringen)	France	MOSELLE	583,457
	Central portion (Lothringen and Elsass)	France	BAS-RHIN	583,457
	Southern portion (Elsass)	France	HAUT-RHIN	583,457
ANHALT	Northern edges	East Germany	MAGDEBURG	1,045,448
	Southern portion	East Germany	HALLE	1,045,448
BADEN	All	West Germany	BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG	1,045,448
BAVARIA (BAYERN)	All	West Germany	BAVARIA (BAYERN)	1,045,448
PALATINATE (PFALZ)	Western edges	West Germany	SAARLAND	1,045,448
	The Rest	West Germany	RHINELAND-PALATINATE (RHEINLAND PFALZ)	1,045,448
BRUNSWICK (BRAUNSCHWEIG)	Western portion	West Germany	LOWER SAXONY (NIEDERSACHSEN)	1,045,448
	Eastern portion	East Germany	MAGDEBURG	1,045,448
HESSE (HESSEN)	Rhein-Hessen	West Germany	RHINELAND-PALATINATE (RHEINLAND PFALZ)	1,045,448
	Ober-Hessen	West Germany	HESSE (HESSEN)	1,045,448
	Wimpfen	West Germany	BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG	1,045,448
	Hessen-Darmstadt	West Germany	HESSE (HESSEN)	1,045,448
LIPPE	All	West Germany	NORTHRHINE-WESTPHALIA (NORDRHEIN-WESTFALEN)	1,045,448
MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN	Northern portion	East Germany	ROSTOCK	1,045,448
	Central portion	East Germany	SCHWERIN	1,045,448
	Southcentral portion	East Germany	POTSDAM	1,045,448
	Eastern portion	East Germany	NEUBRANDENBURG	1,045,448
	Rossen	East Germany	POTSDAM	1,045,448
	Netzeband	East Germany	POTSDAM	1,045,448
MECKLENBURG-STRELITZ	Northwestern portion	East Germany	ROSTOCK	1,045,448
	Southwestern portion	East Germany	SCHWERIN	1,045,448
	Southwestern portion	East Germany	POTSDAM	1,045,448
	Eastern portion	East Germany	NEUBRANDENBURG	1,045,448
OLDENBURG	Oldenburg	West Germany	LOWER SAXONY (NIEDERSACHSEN)	1,045,448
Lubeck	Lubeck	West Germany	SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN	1,045,448
Birkenfeld	Northern portion	West Germany	RHINELAND-PALATINATE (RHEINLAND PFALZ)	1,045,448
	Southern portion	West Germany	SAARLAND	1,045,448
PRUSSIA (PREUSSEN)				
Brandenburg	Northeastern portion	Poland	SZCZECIN	1,045,448 824,243 844,922
	Southeastern portion	Poland	ZIELONA GÓRA	1,045,448 824,243 844,922
	Most eastern portion	Poland	POZNAN	1,045,448 824,243 844,922
	North central portion	East Germany	NEUBRANDENBURG	1,045,448
	East central portion	East Germany	FRANKFURT A. ODER	1,045,448
	South central portion	East Germany	COTTBUS	1,045,448
	Northwestern tip	East Germany	SCHWERIN	1,045,448

* States were called provinces in the German Empire of 1871.

Old State (Province)	Area	Present Country	Present State	Film No.
	West central portion	East Germany	POTSDAM	1,045,448
	Southwestern tip	East Germany	HALLE	1,045,448
East Prussia (Ostpreussen)	Northeastern portion	Russia	KALININGRAD	928,609
				928,610
				874,456
	Central portion	Poland	OLSZTYN	824,243
				844,922
				874,455
	Southeastern portion	Poland	BIAŁYSTOK	824,243
				844,922
Hanover (Hannover)	All	West Germany	LOWER SAXONY (NIEDERSACHSEN)	1,045,448
Hesse-Nassau (Hessen-Nassau)	Southwestern portion	West Germany	RHINELAND-PALATINATE (RHEINLAND PFALZ)	1,045,448
	Grafsch. Schaumburg	West Germany	LOWER SAXONY (NIEDERSACHSEN)	1,045,448
	Schmalkalden	East Germany	SUHL	1,045,448
	Klein Schmalkalden	East Germany	SUHL	1,045,448
	The rest	West Germany	HESSE (HESSEN)	1,045,448
Hohenzollern	All	West Germany	BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG	1,045,448
Pomerania (Pommern)	Northwestern portion	East Germany	ROSTOCK	1,045,448
	West central portion	East Germany	NEUBRANDENBURG	1,045,448
	Southwestern portion	East Germany	FRANKFURT A. ODER	1,045,448
	Central portion	Poland	SZCZECIN	1,045,448
				824,243
				844,922
	East central portion	Poland	KOSZALIN	824,243
				844,922
	Eastern portion	Poland	GDANSK	824,243
				844,922
PRUSSIA (PREUSSEN)				
Posen	Northern portion	Poland	KOSZALIN	583,457
				824,243
				844,922
	Western portion	Poland	ZIELONA GÓRA	583,457
				824,243
				844,922
	Central portion	Poland	POZNAN	583,457
				824,243
				844,922
	Eastern portion	Poland	BYDGOSZCZ	583,457
				824,243
				844,922
Rhine Province (Rheinland)	Northern portion	West Germany	NORTHRHINE-WESTPHALIA (NORDRHEIN-WESTFALEN)	1,045,448
	Central portion	West Germany	RHINELAND-PALATINATE (RHEINLAND PFALZ)	1,045,448
				1,045,448
	Southern portion	West Germany	SAARLAND	1,045,448
	Wetzlar	West Germany	HESSE (HESSEN)	1,045,448
Rhine Province	Kreis Eupen, Kreis Malmedy south to Reuland	Belgium	LIEGE	583,457
Saxony Province (Provinz Sachsen)	Northern portion	East Germany	MAGDEBURG	1,045,448
	Northeastern edge	East Germany	POTSDAM	1,045,448
	Central portion	East Germany	HALLE	1,045,448
	Southeastern corner	East Germany	COTTBUS	1,045,448
	South central portion	East Germany	LEIPZIG	1,045,448
	Southwestern portion	East Germany	ERFURT	1,045,448
	Suhl area	East Germany	SUHL	1,045,448
	Areas of Ranis, Gefell Blintendorf, and Kamsdorf	East Germany	GERA	1,045,448
Silesia (Schlesien)	Western tip	East Germany	COTTBUS	1,045,448
	Northwestern portion	Poland	ZIELONA GÓRA	1,045,448
				824,243
				844,922
	Central portion	Poland	WROCŁAW	1,045,448
				824,243
				844,922
	Southeast of Breslau	Poland	OPOLE	1,045,448
				824,243
				844,922
	Southeast of Oppein	Poland	KATOWICE	1,045,448
				824,243
				844,922
	South of Ratibor near the Czech border	Czechoslovakia	SEVEROMORAVSKY	824,243
Schleswig-Holstein	North of Flensburg	Denmark		583,457
	South of and including Flensburg	West Germany	SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN	1,045,448

Old State (Province)	Area	Present Country	Present State	Film No.
PRUSSIA (PREUSSEN)				
Westphalia (Westfalen)	All	West Germany	NORTHRHINE-WESTPHALIA (NORDRHEIN-WESTFALEN)	1,045,448
West Pussia (Westpreussen)	Western portion	Poland	KOSZALIN	583,457 824,243 844,922
	South central portion	Poland	BYDGOSZCZ	583,457 824,243 844,922
	North central portion	Poland	GDANSK	583,457 824,243 844,922
	Eastern edge	Poland	OLSZTYN	583,457 824,243 844,922
SCHAUMBURG-LIPPE	All	West Germany	LOWER SAXONY (NIEDERSACHSEN)	1,045,448
THURINGIAN STATES (THÜRINGISCHE STAATEN)				
Reuss-Greiz	Southwestern portion	East Germany	KARL-MARX-STADT	1,045,448
	Northwestern portion	East Germany	GERA	1,045,448
	Far western portion	East Germany	GERA	1,045,448
Reuss-Greiz-Gera	All	East Germany	GERA	1,045,448
Saxe-Altenburg (Sachsen-Altenburg)	Northeast of Ronneburg	East Germany	LEIPZIG	1,045,448
	From Ronneburg Southwest	East Germany	GERA	1,045,448
	Elsenberg South	East Germany	GERA	1,045,448
	Russdorf area	East Germany	KARL-MARX-STADT	1,045,448
Sachsen-Koburg-Gotha				
Koburg	All	West Germany	BAVARIA (BAYERN)	1,045,448
Gotha	Areas of Koerner, Nazza, Neukirchen, Wernings-hausen, Trassdorf, and north of Zelle	East Germany	ERFURT	1,045,448
	Area of Zelle	East Germany	SUHL	1,045,448
	Area of Treppendorf, Milda, and Vierzenheiligen	East Germany	GERA	1,045,448
THURINGIAN STATES (THÜRINGISCHE STAATEN)				
Sachsen-Meiningen	Northeast of Graefenthal	East Germany	GERA	1,045,448
	Area of Ober-ellen	East Germany	ERFURT	1,045,448
	Area of Kranichfeld	East Germany	ERFURT	1,045,448
Kamburg Area	Northeast portion	East Germany	HALLE	1,045,448
	Southwest portion including Kamburg	East Germany	GERA	1,045,448
	The rest of Sachsen-Meiningen	East Germany	SUHL	1,045,448
Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach				
Weimar	Northern portion	East Germany	ERFURT	1,045,448
	Southern portion	East Germany	GERA	1,045,448
Neustadt	All	East Germany	GERA	1,045,448
Imenau	All	East Germany	SUHL	1,045,448
Eisenach	Northern portion	East Germany	ERFURT	1,045,448
	Southern portion	East Germany	SUHL	1,045,448
Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt	Northern tip	East Germany	ERFURT	1,045,448
	North of Königsee including Leutenberg	East Germany	GERA	1,045,448
	South of Königsee	East Germany	SUHL	1,045,448
	Frankenhausen area	East Germany	HALLE	1,045,448
Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen	Northern portion and Arnstadt	East Germany	ERFURT	1,045,448
	Langewiesen area and south	East Germany	SUHL	1,045,448
WALDECK	Northern portion	West Germany	LOWER SAXONY (NIEDERSACHSEN)	1,045,448
	Southern portion	West Germany	HESSE (HESSEN)	1,045,448
WÜRTTEMBERG	All	West Germany	BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG	1,045,448
BREMEN	All	West Germany	BREMEN	1,045,448
HAMBURG	Hamburg proper	West Germany	HAMBURG	1,045,448
Cuxhaven and Neuwerk	All	West Germany	LOWER SAXONY (NIEDERSACHSEN)	1,045,448
LÜBECK	All	West Germany	SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN	1,045,448

2) *Verify your ancestor's town*

After you have found your ancestor's town, you must determine the name of the province or state to which the town belonged. You also need to know if the town had its own civil registry or Standesamt (StdA). You can find this information by checking *Meyers Orts und Verkehrs Lexikon* (Films #496,640 and #496,641). *Meyers* is a gazeteer in book form that can be found at the L.D.S. Library in Salt Lake City or on film in the branch genealogical libraries. *Meyers* contains the names of the German towns as they were during the German Empire (1871-1918). A *Meyers* entry looks like this example in Figure 3.

Note that *Meyers* is printed in old Gothic type. The Genealogical Dept.'s *Research Paper C-4, German Boundary Changes* and other handbooks have Gothic alphabet lists to help translate *Meyers*.

If the STDA (civil registry) has a comma or semi-colon after it, as in the town of Alt Brabau, Kr. Berent in Figure 3, it indicates that Alt Grabau has its own civil registry. If it has no comma or semi-colon following StdA, then the next town following this abbreviation is the place where the civil registry is kept. Note that, in Bergdorf the StdA is at the town of Vorbruch.

Meyers also shows if the town had a parish. In the entry below, note that Alt Grabau, Kr. Berent has a Catholic parish (kath. pfk). The two main religions in Germany were (and still are) Lutheran (ev.) and Catholic (kath.).

3) *Verify your town's parish*

If *Meyers* shows your town to be without a parish of its own, you will need to use the Gemeindelexikons. The Gemeindelexikons are a group of city directories on film which have the names of parishes for each town in a particular province. For a list of these directories, check with your branch genealogical libraries, or *The German Researcher* by Fay Dearden.

4) *Ascertain today's name for your parish or town*

a) Use Mueller's *Grosses Deutsches Ortsbuch* (Film #1045448) to find today's name of towns, province names and postal zone numbers for places in East and West Germany. It also has names of towns now in Polish provinces and their new Polish names. This is important because you need the current names to use the Microfilmed Card Catalog (MCC).

b) Use the "Present-Day Names" chart in *The German Researcher* to help find today's names for other places not listed in Mueller's film. *The German*

Figure 3 - Excerpt from Meyers Orts Gazeteer

Berg Dievenow, D. u. Ostseebad, a/d Ostsee u. d. Dievenow; Pr., Pomm., RB. Stettin, Kr. AG. Pw: 12 km E Cammin Pomm., BKdo. Swinemünde, StdA. A. Fritzow; 352 E.; P, D: 8 km Cammin, 1 km Ostdievenow, SD: 29 km Wollin, 34 km Stettin; Rett.-Stat. für Schiffbr., BadVerw., Solquelle.

Bergdorf, 1) D., Pr., Brandbg., RB. Frankfurt, Kr. Friedeberg Neum., AG. Driesen, BKdo. Woldenberg, StdA. A. Vorbruch, PE 6 km Alt Karbe; 69 E. — Dazu H. Langenspring 6; Hrgr. Weißefenn, A. OFörst. Steinspring, 8 E.

Alt Grabau Kr. Berent, D. u. Gut, Pr., Westpr., RB. Danzig, Kr. AG. Berent, BKdo. Pr. Stargard, E 8,9 km Barkoschin; 435 bz. 131 E., P, Pw: 13 km E Lienfelde, StdA., A., kath. Pfk., Fisch., Molk. — Zum D.: D. Leopoldsberg, E 7,7 km, 71; Gut Rindesfelde, E 10,8 km, 30; Hb. Mühlchen, E 10,2 km, 26 E.

StdA. = civil registry
Kath. pfk = Catholic parish

note comma

224

Researcher also has current names for German provinces. This information is needed to use the MCC.

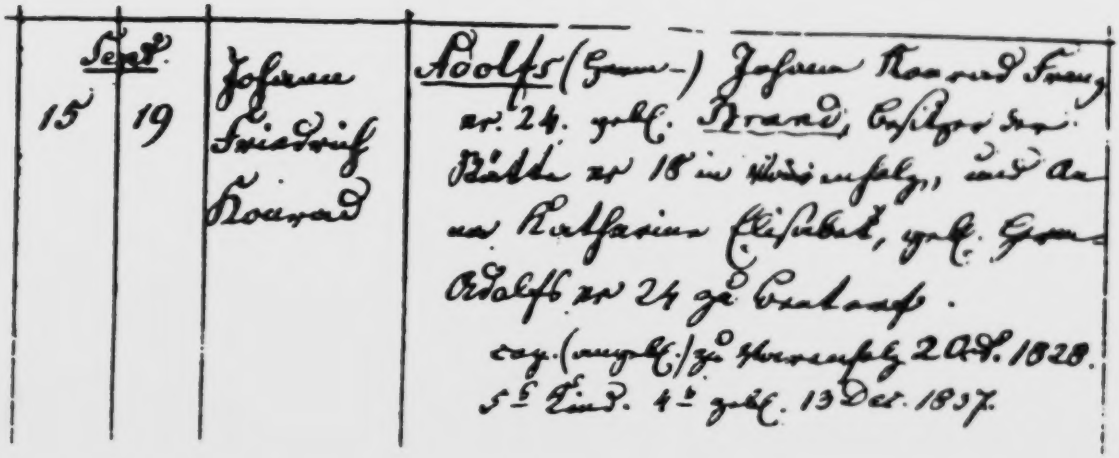
Once you have provided yourself with the current name of the country, province (state), and town, you can check the MCC for films available. Order those you would like for a two-week or six-month period for a nominal fee. These films can be viewed at the branch genealogical library nearest you.

During the past few years, the L.D.S. Genealogical Library has undertaken a massive computerization of its films so that they can be more conveniently used by researchers. When this computerization is finished, the German material will no longer be organized according to present jurisdictions, but on the basis of how Germany was during the German Empire (1871-1914). This will make it much easier for you as a researcher because you will be able to use the old name of your ancestor's town or parish. You can take the town name to the Genealogical Locality Catalog (GLC), pull out the appropriate microfiche card, and, within minutes, find out if Salt Lake has films on that particular town. This Locality Catalog is partially finished and is already useable in the branch genealogical libraries. The researcher must realize that both the MCC and the Locality Catalog should be searched at the present time because neither is complete.

When microfilmed records or records of other types become available, we often encounter another problem. Many researchers find that reading entries in German parish and civil records is an overwhelming task. Not only is the language new for them, but the handwriting is strange and appears difficult. However, in order to do German genealogical research, some understanding of the alphabet and the terminology is essential.

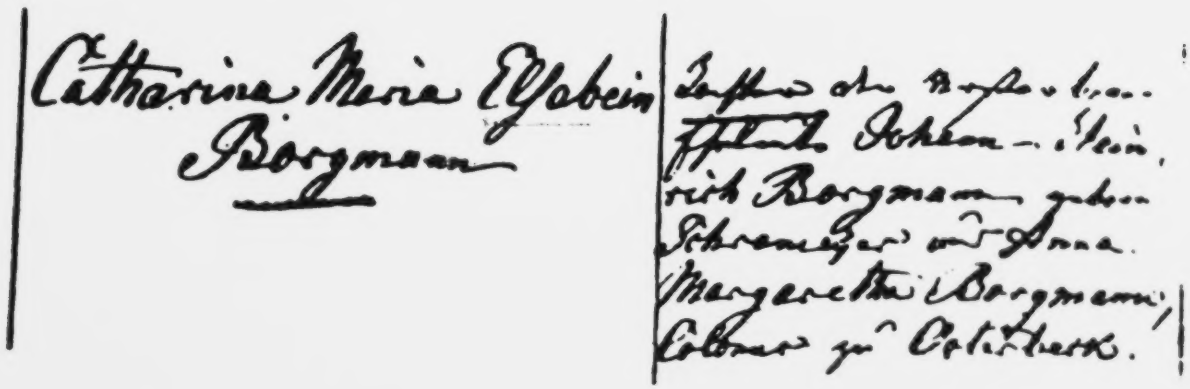
One way to learn to transcribe the old Gothic script is by carefully studying the script alphabet. Practice writing the letters and forming words, particularly those which are commonly used in Germanic records. An excellent source for understanding and learning to use the Gothic script is the book, *A Genealogical and Demographic Handbook of German Handwriting* by

Figure 4



Sept		Johann	Adolfs (Herm) Johann Konrad Franz
15	19	Friedrich	Nr. 24 born Brand, owner of the
		Konrad	place Nr. 18 in Varenholz and An
			na Katharine Elisabet. born Herm-
			Adolfs Nr. 24 at Bentorf.
			Married (allegedly) at Varenholz 2 Oct. 1828
			5th child 4th born 13 Dec. 1837.

Figure 5



Catharina Maria Elsabein Borgmann

Daughter of the deceased parents Johann Heinrich Borgmann born Schromeyer and Anna Margaretha Borgmann, farm owner at Osterbeck.

Norman J. Storrer and Larry O. Jensen. It is also advantageous to read Larry O. Jensen's book *A Genealogical Handbook of German Research*. Vol. I & II. Many researchers also take German classes or use library tapes to teach themselves the German language.

In Figure 4, you will find examples of the old Gothic script, as well as an excerpt from a German birth record in Figure 5.

If you cannot find any microfilms available from Salt Lake City at this time, you can look to other sources from the genealogical library. Some are listed below.

The International Genealogical Index: This computerized index has names, christening dates, marriage dates, names of spouses and names of parents of people from all over the world, indexed according to country and person's last name. It contains names of people of all denominations. Not all names are included, of course, but many thousands whose lines have been traced and sent in can be found in this index.

A Preliminary Survey of the German Collection by Ronald Smelser: This book tells the names of German towns whose records have been filmed and how many rolls of film are available in the L.D.S. Library. Included also are towns which are now in Polish territory, how many films are available, and the Polish name of the town.

Compiled Genealogical Files; Both non-LDS and LDS should search the "Family Group Records Archives," "Temple Index Bureau," and "Computer File Index." See Research Paper Series F #1 *Research Aids and LDS Church Records*, and Research Paper Series F #4 The Genealogical Society's Computer File Index.

LDS Records: Both non-LDS and LDS ancestors can be found in these records. For an explanation of the many different types of records and their use, see (Reg 289.3 J327f) Laureen Richardson Jausse and Gloria Duncan Chaston, *Register of L.D.S. Church Records* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Col., 1968), and Research Paper Series F #4 *The Genealogical Society's Computer File Index.*

It is possible to write letters to Germany to the various archives and to local parishes and receive information about your ancestors. You can write in English since many Germans read and

understand some English. However, in most small parishes and towns, your letters will be better understood if you write them in German. Remember, also, to enclose with each letter two international reply coupons purchased from your post office. Postage in Europe is very high and the recipients appreciate this courtesy.

If Salt Lake Genealogical Library does not have microfilms at this time for your parish, you may want to send a letter to the priest or minister of that place.

Letters to West Germany are usually well received and readily answered. You need to know the name of the town, state (province), if possible, and your ancestor's religion. If Bad Vilbel is your town, for example, address your letter as follows:

If Catholic: Kath. Pfarramt
6368 Bad Vilbel
West Germany

If Lutheran: Ev. Pfarramt
6368 Bad Vibel
West Germany

The number 6368 is the zip code for Bad Vilbel. LDS Genealogical Branch Libraries carry a volume of German zip codes for both East and West Germany. Germans underline the zip code and the town name.

Letters to East Germany are unfortunately not always answered. Many pastors in the Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR) are reluctant to correspond with Americans. If you do write to the DDR, follow these guidelines:

1. Write to the pastor (Pfarramt) of the town.

2. Do *not* write "East Germany" on the letter. Write only DDR - (Deutsche Demokratische Republik) on the last line of the address.

3. Make it clear you are strictly concerned with genealogy. Do not discuss politics or government.

4. In your first letter, ask how much the genealogical information will cost. If you do pay them later, do so with a registered bank draft.

5. In the first letter, state all your needs and ask for complete genealogies as far back as records go. They can usually answer one letter from a U.S. address without the authorities becoming upset.

6. Write in German on the typewriter. Use form letters if you wish. Be sure to state everything you know about your ancestors to help identify him.

7. Be very polite and express gratitude in your letter as Germans are very correct and polite.

Though German research is challenging, with the help of the many films, books, and records currently available, the problems of boundary changes and German language translation are being solved. The Salt Lake Genealogical Library and its worldwide branch libraries do not do actual research for people, but they do provide invaluable aid.

Fay Steuer Dearden was born of German parents who emigrated from Silesia, Prussia in 1924. She graduated from the University of Utah with a B.A. in home economics. Because of her interest in genealogy, she has worked as a librarian in the Minneapolis Branch Genealogical Library for several years and has been researching German ancestry for 20 years. She has published "THE GERMAN RESEARCHER" (Family Tree Press, 1983) to help other researchers better use Mormon (L.D.S.) branch genealogical library sources.

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German Immigration to the United States as a Social Protest

by Günter Moltmann

(Synopsis of a paper, read at the conference "A Heritage Fulfilled," Bloomington, Minnesota, September 29, 1983.

German emigrants to the United States left their home country with different attitudes: resignation because of poor living conditions; escape from circumstances which they could not cope with; in protest against religious, social and political repression which they despised.

Social protest was raised by individuals as well as by groups and it was expressed in different ways, e.g., as individual complaints, public criticism of the political and social system, demonstrations against authorities. Evidence of it can be found in contemporary accounts, e.g., in Friedrich List's report on the embarkation of 200 emigrants at the ports of Heilbronn, Neckarsulm and Weinsberg in 1816/17 when condemnations were shouted against local authorities of Wuerttemberg, or, in a report by Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl describing a desolate Rhenish community leaving home singing after setting fire to

This woodcut made from a painting by A. Heyn (1877) is entitled "Homeless." Desperate financial need and social disruption drove many Germans to America in the 19th century. *(Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683 to 1983,* ed. Moltmann)

the village for an angry light display. Many German emigrant songs contained verses of protest against injustice and oppression at home, contrasting freedom and ample opportunities for a better life in America.

In Germany revolutionary spirit was not as strong as in some of the other European countries, e.g., France. The poet Heinrich Heine, after having talked to a group of German emigrants heading for Le Havre as their port of embarkation in 1831, wrote: "I swear it by all gods in heaven and on earth, already the tenth part of what those people in Germany had suffered would have caused thirty-six revolutions in France and thirty-six kings would have lost their crowns and their heads right with it." Perhaps emigration from Germany worked as a social safety valve, saving the country from major unrest, but also preventing liberal reforms by leading away potential revolutionaries.

Contemporary observers were aware of the

Best known of all of the German 1848 revolutionaries was Carl Schurz (1870 photograph), who was an important Republican politician in the party's early days. He became a Civil War general and Secretary of the Interior from 1877 to 1881. *(Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683 to 1983,* ed. Moltmann)

"Street fighting during 1848 Revolution in Berlin," a contemporary etching. *(Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683 to 1983,* ed. Moltmann)

Konrad Beissel and his Seventh-Day Baptists built Ephrata Cloister at Cocalico Creek, Pennsylvania between 1728 and 1733. This is their "Brother House," which was still standing at the beginning of this century. Although this structure has been destroyed, some cloister buildings remain and can be visited. Beissel's group had seceded from the Dunkards (or Dunkers), a better-known German sect. (Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration, 1683 to 1983, ed. Moltmann).

Karl Pflaume's farm near Manitowoc, Wisconsin is pictured in this colored drawing of 1855. Pflaume, a leading German revolutionary of 1848, went to America in 1851 but returned to Germany in 1863 — and wrote a book about America. *(Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683 to 1983,* ed. Moltmann)

fact that a relationship existed between emigration and revolution. In the judgment of Germans who remained in their country and uttered an opinion on the mobility of their fellow-citizens "revolutionary potential" was often spoken of as something they had gotten rid of as emigrants had left.

Groups of religious, social and political protesters went to America with the aim of building up a new life and form communities in accordance with concepts developed in Germany. American reality sometimes helped them in doing this, sometimes proved hostile to their experiments. Whether this way or that depended on the immigrants' energies and their flexibility in coping with their new environment.

A short treatment of the same topic has been published in an article by this author, "German Emigration to the United States during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century as a Social Protest Movement," in Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration, *ed. by Hans L. Trefousse (New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1980), pp. 103-110. A more comprehensive version will soon be published in German: "Auswanderung als Revolutionsersatz?" in* Die Deutschen und die Revolution, *ed. by Michael Salewski (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1984). Prof. Moltmann is continuing his research with the aim of writing an even longer study on the same subject.*

A 17th century drawing of Krefeld on the Lower Rhine, the German home of the 33 emigrants to "Germantown" in Pennsylvania. *(Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683 to 1983*, ed. Moltmann)

A contemporary portrait of William Penn, whose new American colony became a refuge for the thirteen Mennonite and Quaker families from Krefeld — the first German group to migrate to America, in 1683. *(Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683 to 1983*, ed. Moltmann)

Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Weekly* used this illustration in the late 19th century. It shows a crowded boatload of immigrants passing the Statue of Liberty on their way into the harbor of New York. *(Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683 to 1983*, ed. Moltmann)

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Index

A

Aalborg, Denmark 21
Abercrombie, Fort 20, 125
abolitionists 54, 118
An Account of Two Voyages 31
Acker, Captain William H. 118
Acton, MN 126
Age of Enlightenment 169
Alabama 128
Alberich 22
Albrecht, Ernest 107
Alden, John 25
Allied propaganda 54
Alte und Neue Welt 70
Alsace, Alsace Lorraine 107, 168, 172
Amazons 27-8
Ambs and Wiedemann 97
"America" 9, 22
Americae Tertia Pars 28
American Antiquarian Society 64
American Association of Teachers of German 6, 140
American Catholic Church 64-93, 145
American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages 140
American Exchange Bank 108
American Historical Society of Germans from Russia 140
Americanizing, Americanization, 10, 145-6, 148, 153-4
American Jewish World 173
American Legion 178
American Liturgical Movement 10
American Lutheran Church 157
American Lutheran Church Archives 161
American Lutheranism: Ethos, Style, and Policy 158
American National Bank of St. Paul 15
American Revolution 4, 39
Americus Vesputius (Amerigo Vespucci) 22
Amish 190
Amsterdam 213
Anderson, Gary C. 129
Anderson, Major 118
Anglo-Saxons 52
anti-abolitionists 118
Antietam, Battle of 119
anti-Semitism 55, 85, 177-8
Antwerp 9, 25, 213
Antwerp Passenger Lists 213
Appomattox 119
Archduke of Austria 52
Arizona 29
Arndt 75
Arlington, MN 183
Arlington *Enterprise* 192
Assumption Church (St. Paul) 64, 66-7
Atlanta 120-1
Atlantic Pact 144
"Auf Sylt" 55, 57
Augsburg 26
Aurora, MN 177
Austria 4, 9, 23, 26, 52, 99, 138, 175, 177, 213
Autobiography (W.C. Williams) 9, 41
Ayola 28
Azores 25-6

B

Baden 95, 133, 168, 212
Bad Gastein 99
Baltimore 51, 84, 97, 104, 117
Bank of New England 108
Barry, Father Colman 10, 145
A Basic History of Lutheranism in America 157
Basle 26
Battle of Snodgrass Hill 122
Bauernmalerei 139
Bavaria 28, 73, 82, 118, 168-9
Bavarian monks 10
Bayreuth Festival 22
Baytown, MN 159
Beauregarde, General 118
The Beginnings of the German Lutheran Church in Minnesota 156
Behaim, Martin 25
Beicke, Jean 41
Beinhorn, Ferdinand 117
Beissel, Konrad 227
Belgium 216
Bemidji, MN 134, 183, 189
Bemidji language camps 5-6
Benedictines, Benedictine Order 10, 67, 72, 146-155
Benge, Leanne 6
Benz, George 107
Benton Barracks 123
Benzel, Norbert 8, 182-195
Bering Straits 25
Berlin 144, 168, 173, 197
Bertha, MN 183, 190
Bethlehem, PA 39
Bickel, William 107
Bierbaum, Harold 190
Big Stone Lake 129
Birch Coulee 126, 128
von Bismarck, Otto 74
Bismarck's May Laws 96
Biwabek, MN 177
Bjerkness, Joann 5
Bjerkness, Odell (Dell) 5-6, 183, 188
Black issue 12, 76, 83-4
Blashfield, Edwin 126
Bloomer, Sergeant Samuel 119
Bloomington conference 6-10, 19, 21
Blue Earth 163
Blumer, Adam 161
B'nai Abraham Synagogue (Virginia, MN) 177
Boeing 5
Bogata 26-7
Bogen, Ludwig 48, 51
Bohemia 150, 170
Bonney, Rachel 18
Boosterism 18
Brackett's Battalion 120
Bragg, General Braxton 121
Brandenburg 212
Brant, Sebastian 26
Brazil 26-7
Bremen 97, 104, 116, 213

Bremerhaven 97
Bremer, Adolf 15
Bremer Foundation 15
Bremer, Otto 15
Breslau 41
Breuer, Frank 86
Breuner, Theodore 14
Brief Geographical Description of the Lately Discovered American Colony of Pennsylvania 37
A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England 30
Brigham, Clarence 64
British Colonies 4
"Brother House" 227
Brown County 117, 125, 202
von Bry, Theodorus 9, 28-30
Buchinger-Heringman, Christiane 186
Buell's Army of the Cumberland 121, 123
Buenos Aires 29
Buffalo, NY 198
Buffalo Synod 160
The Build-Up 9, 41
Bull Run 119, 126
Bures, Nicolaus 64, 67
Burgundy 26

C

California 29
Cameron, Simon 118
Canada 150, 198
Canadian Selkirk Colony 149
cannibalism 27
Cape Cod 199
Carlstadt, NJ 42
Carolinas 9, 31
Caribbean folk-musicology 28
Carver County 117, 183
Cathedral of St. Paul 151-4
Catholicism 64-93, 96, 145, 212
The Catholic Church and German-Americans 145
Catholic Council of Baltimore 84
Catholic-Protestant tensions 28
centennial celebrations 156-167
centennial documents of churches 10
Chamber of Commerce 178
Chapel of St. Paul 148-9
charity drives for German poor 56
Charles V 26
Charleston, SC 170
Charleston Harbor 118
Chaska, MN 49
Chattanooga 120-1
Chiat, Marilyn 10, 168-181
Chicago 19, 47, 117, 142, 173
Chicago Land *Verein* 117
Chickamauga 122
Chile 26
Chippewa 125, 158, 162
Chisholm, MN 177
Christian confidence 27
Christianity and Judasim (hostility) 169
Christianson, Governor Theodore 129
Cincinnati 19, 47, 118, 198
Cincinnati *Turnverein* 118
Citizen's Bank 108
Civil War (American) 19, 49, 99, 116-130, 170, 190, 226
Claremont, MN 163
Clay County 16
Cloeter, Ernest Ottomar 162
College of St. Thomas 138
Collegeville, MN 118, 183
Cologne 173, 183
Columbia 27
Columbus' discovery of America 22-3, 25
Commercial Club of St. Paul 108
Commissioner of Emigration for Germany 49
Common Market (European) 12, 95, 144
Communist Block 144
Concordia College (Moorhead) 4, 5, 7-8, 21, 182, 192
Concordia College (St. Paul) 163
Concord Singers 135-7, 190
Confederates 19, 118, 123, 170
Connecticut 30-1
Consul of the German Empire 99
convent life 11
Coordinating Commission for Export to Communist Countries (COCOM) 144
Cooper, John 14
Corinth, Battle of 125-6
Cortes 25
Cosmographiae Introduction 23-4
Cowdry Brothers 97
Cretin, Bishop Joseph 10, 145-6, 148
Crow Wing, MN 160
Crow Wing County 162
Cruise Missiles 144
Crystal, MN 135
"Cultural Integrity and the Role of Religion" 10

D

Dalfinger 27
Dallas 137
Danes 4
Day, Doris 5
Dearden, Fay 21, 211-224
Deinard, Rabbi Samuel N.
Delmont, SD 165
Democratic party 49, 68, 74, 76-7, 79, 83, 118
Denmark 216
Depression 15, 61
Deutsch-Amerikanische Bank (of St. Paul) 99
Der Deutsche Klub 134, 138
Deutsche Mark (DM) 142
Der Deutsche Tag 139
Devereaux, John C. 74
Devil's Den (Gettysburg) 120
De Witt County, TX 196
Dictionary of American Biography 94
Diddes, Robert 136
Die Fackel 51
Dienstmädchenliteratur 55
Diocese of St. Paul 145
The Discoveries of John Lederer 31
discrimination 12
Dispatch Building 79, 81
Dodge County 117
Dresden 49
Dr. Martin Luther College 163-4
Dubuque, Iowa 157, 161
Duke University 24
Duluth, MN 117, 176-7
Dunkards (or Dunkers) 227
Dutch Brazil 29
Dutch Reformed church 212

E

Earth Ball 5
Eastern Block countries 144
Eastern European Jewish immigrants 177
East Germany 212, 216
East Prussia 196-7
East-West line 144
Edelweiss Dancers 136
Eden-like idyll 30
Educational Louisenthal Institute 97
Ehrhardt, Eugen L. 72-4, 82-3, 86
Eisenhauer, Dwight 5
El Dorado 27
Elks 178
Emanuel Lutheran Church (St. Paul) 164
Emmanuel's Lutheran Church Inver Grove, MN 159
England 82, 94, 104, 143
"Enten-Tanz" 137
Epharata Cloister at Cocalico Creek 227
Erd's (Frank) Variety Store 203

234

Erickson, Paul 5, 183, 192
Esch, Michael ("Papa Esch") 82
ethnic banks 12
European Common Market 12, 95, 144
European Customs Union 95
Evangelical Lutheran Trinity Congregation (St. Paul) 98
Evangelical Reformed church 212
Eveleth, MN 177

F

Die Fackel 51
Fandel, Frank 14
Farmers and Merchants State Bank 108
farm mortgages 12
Fasching 136
Fassbind, Franz 72, 78-9, 86
Federal Republic of Germany 7, 142-4
Federman, Nikolaus 27
Fifth Minnesota Regiment 125, 129, 148
Fillmore County 117
Finns 4, 177
First Minnesota Regiment 119-20, 124
First National Bank (Moorhead) 16
First Vatican Council 78
Flandreau, Judge Charles E. 126, 128
Flandreau State Park 190
Florentine Astronomer and pilot 22-3
Florida 30
Flower, Mark D. 107
Folwell, William Watts 129
Ford, Edwin H. 73
Foreign Language Association of the Red River 140
foreign language press 11
Fort Abercrombie 20, 125, 130
Fort Garry 149
Fort Ridgley 117, 125-6, 130, 190
Fort Ripley 125, 130
Fort Snelling 5, 49, 119, 149, 183-5, 188, 190
Fort Sumter 118
Forty-eighters 51, 118, 226
Foster, A.G. 107
Fourth Minnesota Regiment 125, 128-9
'Four Voyages' 23
France 78, 143, 145-6, 148, 216, 226
Franconia 27, 38
Franco-Prussian War 52, 78
Frankfurt-am-Main 9, 29, 38-9, 168-9
Frankfurt parliament 51
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly 228
Franklin, Benjamin 41
Franklin, R.W. 10
Frauenverein 134
Fredericksburg, Battle of 119
Free-Thinking tradition 118, 197
Fremont, John C. 54
French Foreign Legion 48
French North America 29
French priests 148
French Revolution 169
Fritsche, Dr. L.A. 61
Fuggers 9, 26
"Für unsere Frauen" 52

G

Gabitawigama 162
Galbraith, Thomas 129
Galinsky, Hans 8-9, 22-46
Gall, Ludwig 41-2
Galveston 198
Garibaldi 74
Die Gartenlaube 69
"Gast-und-Boardinghäuser" 61
Gauss, Dean 41
Gehrig, Lou 5
Genealogical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints 212
genealogical research 21, 211-224
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) 143
General Synod 161
Georgetown, MN 21
German-American Bank of St. Paul 98, 105
German-American National Bank (St. Cloud) 14
German-American National Congress (DANK) 138
German-American women 11
German Catholics 64-93, 145
German Customs Union 94
German Empire (see Imperial Germany)
German ethnic banking 110-11
"German Fest '83" 6-7
Germania Bank (St. Paul) 107-11
Germania Life Insurance Building 96
Germania Society 6
Germanic Society of Minnesota 140
German Jewish immigrants 168-181
German Land Association of Minnesota 118
German Language Village 55
German Lutheran Synods 10
German Lutherans in Minnesota 29, 38, 96, 156-167
German Nazism 156
Germanness 5, 6, 8
German Railways 61
German railway system 95
German-speaking areas of Europe 5
Germans-to-America: 300 Years of Immigration, 1683-1983 10
"The German Theological and Liturgical Influence in Minnesota" 10
Germantown, PA 29, 36-8, 47, 228
Gettysburg, Battle of 19-20, 119, 123-4, 130
Gifford, Samuel 199
Gilbert, MN 177
Glencoe, MN 125
von Goethe, Johann Wolfgang 9, 36, 38, 80
Gothic type 52
Graebner, Alan 157, 161
Graefe, Martin 6
Gran Chaco 28
Grant, President U.S. 74, 76, 84, 99
Great Western Band 82
Greenfield, MA 199
Grimm, Wendelin 18
Der Gross-Cophta 39
Gross National Product (German) GNP 142
Guiana, British 30
Gutenberg, Johannes 22, 25

H

Habsburg 9, 23, 26, 28
Haggenmiller, John 61
Hakluyt, Richard 25
Hamburg 29, 95, 104, 116, 168, 197, 213
Hamburg-America Line 61
Hamburg passenger lists 213
Hamilton, Alexander 94
Hancock, General 119
Handbuch für Teilnehmer 187
Harper's Weekly 124
Haus Katya 189
Hayward, J.E. 14
Hebrew 169, 175
Heilbronn 225
Heine, Heinrich 226
Heinz 5
Helena, MT 51
Henle, Anton family 125
Hennepin County 117
A Heritage Deferred 4, 7, 10, 18, 21, 157, 194
Heritagefest 135-7
Hermann's Monument 185, 190
Hermes, Dr. Peter 7
Herrnhuter 39
Herzer, Rev. 163
Hesse 168
Heyer, Johann 160-1
von Heyderstadt, Francis 107

Heyn, A. 225
Hibbing, MN 177
Himsl, J.B. 14
History of the First Minnesota 119
The History of St. Paul 68
The History of Stearns County 12-14
History of the World 30
Hitchcock, James 145
Hitler, Adolf 61, 211
Hofacker, Erich P. 80
Hohermut 27
Holland 150
Holterhof, Clara 98
Holy Roman Empire 23, 26
Homestead Bill 52, 118
home missions 10, 162-3
Honarius, Father 28
Howard Johnson Motel (Bloomington) 6
Howe, C.A. 14
Howes, B.C. 105
Hull, A.C. 14
Hungary 175
Huntsville, Ala 128
von Hutten, Philipp 27

I

Icelanders 4
Illinois 177
Illinois Staatszeitung 47
Imholte, John 119
Immigration Club 108
Imperial Germany 9, 41, 54, 56, 94, 97, 99, 168-9, 211
Indians 54, 84, 99, 118, 202
Indian Frontier 19
Indian missions 10, 39, 118, 158, 162
"las Indias" 23
Institute of German Studies 6
International Institute of Minnesota 6
International Language Village Program 4-6, 8, 21, 182-195
International Nuclear Forces (INF) 144
Inver Grove, MN 159
Iowa 54, 68
Iowa Synod 158-163
Ireland 117, 150
Ireland, Archbishop John 10, 148, 150
Irish-American Bank (Minneapolis) 110
Irish-Americans 145, 150-1, 153-4, 199
Irish-American women 11, 154
Irish Catholic churchmen 10
Irola 28
Iron Range (of Minnesota) 10, 168, 176-8
Italians 177
Italian nationalists 78

J

Jackson, President Andrew 94-5
Jantz, Harold 24, 26
Japan 143
Jay's Mill, Battle of 121
Jebe, Suzanne 6
Jews 84-5, 168-173, 211-2
Jewish population of Minnesota 10, 168-173
Jewish Studies Program (U of M) 168
Jewish talmudic academies 169
John Carter Brown Library 27
Johnson, President Andrew 74, 99
Johnson, Hildegard Binder 117
Johnstone, Daniel S.B. 64
Jordahl, Leigh D. 158
Josselyn, John 31
The Journal (New Ulm) 192, 194
Judaism, classical 169
Judaism and Christianity, hostility 169

K

Kabale und Liebe 81
Kaiser Wilhelm I 99
Kaiser Wilhelm II 104
Kansas-Nebraska Act 118
Kelpius 38
Kickers Sport Club 135
Kidnapped by Indians 22
Kieselbach, Scott 5
Kiesling House 190
King of Prussia (Wilhelm) 99
Kino, Father (Eusebius Kuhn) 29
Kladderadatsch 55
Klapproth, Hugo 72
Klausmeyer, Emma 98
Kloberdanz, Timothy J. 10
Klossner 183
Knapheide, Rudolph 18
Knights of Labor 51
Know-Nothing party 49, 52, 69, 83
Koblenz 20, 173
Koenigsberg 196-7
Konigsberg, Franconia 25
Koztvelyes 175
Krause, Lebrecht Friedrich Ehregott 159
Krefeld 228
Krefeld Mennonites 4, 29, 38
Kreis Preum 12
Kremer, Gerhard 9, 24
Kromberger, Hans 26
Kulas, Father John 11-2, 64-93
Krumwiede, Charles 41
Kulturhaus 139

L

La Crosse, WI 196, 199-201
Land of 10,000 Lakes 4
La Plata Region 29
Larrabie, ND 107
Lederer, Johann 9, 29-31
Lefkovits, Mrs. Maurice (Clara) 176
Le Havre 226
Le Havre passenger lists 213
Lehe 97
Leipzig 69, 172
Leopold I 85
Lester, Henry C. 19, 119, 121, 123
Liederkranz 133, 136
Liege, Bishop of 29
Lincoln, Abraham
Lincoln, NE 48
Lincoln Freie Presse 48
Lisbon 25
List, Georg Friedrich 19, 94, 111, 225
Lithuania 172
Little Crow, Chief 126, 129-30
Little Round Top 119
Little Six, Chief 54
Liverpool 116
Lloyd, David 37
Lockey, Joseph 105
London, 39, 116
Longstreet, General 119, 124
Lorraine 23
Louisiana 83
Lower Agency 125, 130
Lowry Company 108
Lowry, Thomas 108
Ludvigh, Samuel 48-51
Ludwig II, King 74
Ludwigskirche 67
Der lustige Bruder 48
Luther, Martin 22, 30, 158
Lutherans 29, 38, 96, 156-167, 212-3
Lutheran Brotherhood 6
Lutheran churches in the Upper Midwest 22
Lutherans in North America 157
Luxemburg 4, 78

M

Madison, WI 196, 199
Magidson, Ed 5-6, 183, 189
Maine Prairie, MN 125
Manitowoc, WI 227
Mankato, MN 125, 134, 208
Mann, Walter 105
map making, German 23-6
Maracaibo 26
Maria Stuart 81
Marks, Christiane 183
Marsh, Captain 129
Marvin, Sergeant Matthew 119
Maryland 170
Masons 178
Massachusetts 196, 199
Massachusetts Bay Colony 22
mass circulation 11
mass immigration 11, 32
Massman, John C. 21, 196-210
Mather, Increase 30
matrikelzwang laws 169
Matt, Joseph 64, 72
Maurin, Marcus 14
Mayo Clinic 98
McCombs, Nancy 6
McLung's St. Paul Directory 64, 66, 77-8
Mdewakanton 126
Meier Grove, MN 183
Meinz, George J. 14
Melancthon 30
Melona 198
Mendoza 28
Mennonites 96, 212
Mercator, Gerhardus, 9, 24
Merchants National Bank of St. Paul 108
Merrill, D.C. 107
Messerschmidt House 190
Methodists 163
Mexico 25-6, 28-9
Meyer, Henry 97
Meyer, Lorenz 197
Meyer and Willius 97
Michigan 177
Mickinley, MN 177
Milford, MN 125
Milford Monument 129
Millet, Francis D. 116, 125
Milwaukee 47-8, 196, 199
Minneapolis *Freie Presse und Herold* 48-9, 51, 54, 56, 58-61
Minneapolis *Star* 192, 194
Minneapolis *Tribune* 65
Minnesota Civil War regiments 19, 119-21, 125-9, 148
Minnesota Commission of Public Safety 168
Minnesota Department of Education 6
Die Minnesota Deutsche Zeitung 48-9, 65
Minnesota Editorial Association 74
Minnesota Genealogist 140
Minnesota Historical Society 64, 95, 110, 157
Minnesota History 129
Minnesota Humanities Commission 6
Minnesota Immigration Society 83
Minnesota Mounted Rangers 129
Minnesota National Demokrat 49
Minnesota Newspaper Association 65
Minnesota Project on Ethnic America 6
Minnesota River Valley
Minnesota Sharpshooters 20, 120
Der Minnesota Staats-Brief 140
Minnesota Staats-Zeitung 49, 51, 65, 77-8
Minnesota state legislature 196-7, 202-3
Minnesota State Singing Festival 81
Minnesota Synod 158-161
Minnesota Thalbote 49
Minnesota Volunteer Cavalry 129
Minnesota Volksblatt 65, 78
missionary activity in America (German) 9
Missionary Ridge 121
Mississippi 126
Mississippi-Minnesota River System 117
Mississippi River Valley 111, 116-7, 160, 162, 170
Missouri Synod 158-163
Mitchell, William Bell 12
Mobile 125
Moltmann, Günter 8, 19, 225-228
Montana 68
Montana Staats-Zeitung 51
Montefiore Burial Association chapel 171
Moorhead National Bank 16
Moravian Brethren 39, 42, 96
Morison, Samuel Eliot 25
Moritz, Prince Johann 29
Mormon Church 211-2
Morton, MN 128
Mount Zion Temple (St. Paul) 172, 174-5
Muellenmeister, Theodor 70, 62, 76-8, 81-3, 85-6
Mulhouse 172
Müller, Johann 25
Mundus Novus 23
Munich 67
Münzer, Hieronymous 25
Murfreesboro, Battle of 19, 121, 123
Myrick, Andrew 129
"Myrick's Insult" 129

N

Nachwuchs 140
Nägele, Lambert 48-9, 51
Napoleonic Wars 94
Nashville 125, 127
Nassau-Siegen 29
National Council of Christians and Jews 10, 168
National Endowment for the Humanities 6
National Federation of German Organizations 83
National German American Bank (St. Paul) 95, 105, 108
National System of Political Economy 95
NATO 144
Nazism 156
Neckarsulm 225
Nelson, E. Clifford 157
Neo-orthodoxy, Jewish 169
Netherlands 26, 29, 38
neutrality in World War I 54
New England, New Englanders 14, 19-20
Newfoundland 198
New Hope, MN 135
New Munich, MN 183, 192
New Orleans 116, 175, 196, 198
New Ulm, MN 19, 22, 49, 54, 56, 81, 110, 117, 125-6, 133-5, 162-3, 183, 185, 189, 196-7, 201-8
New Ulm Defenders Monument 117
New-Ulm Pionier 49-51, 201
New-Ulm Post 49, 51-6, 61
New York 47, 82, 94, 97, 104, 117, 177
New York Aufbau 47
New York Staats-Zeitung und Herold 47
New York *Stadttheater* 81
Niagara Falls 196
Nibelung 22
Nicollet County 117
Nieman-Marcus Fortnight Celebration 137
Nix, Jacob 126
"noble savage" 54
Nordic nations 4
Nordstern (St. Cloud) 48
Northern Pacific Railroad 104
North German Federation 78
North German Lloyd 61
Northwestern Chronicle 65, 74
Northwest Magazine 96, 109
Norton, Rev. John 30
Norway 117
Norwegians 4, 117
Norwegian American Historical Association 7
Norwegian Village 5
Norwood *Times* (MN) 192

"Nosferatu, the Vampire" 139
Novalis 80
Nuremberg 25

O

Ohio 40
Ohio River Valley 170
Ohio Synod 160
Oktoberfest 139
Olen, Lieutenant R.C. 123
O'Neill, Daniel 10, 11, 145-155
Order of the Crown (German Imperial) 105
Ortelius, Abraham 9, 24
Orthwein, Friderich 48-49
Otto Bremer Company 15
Outlines of American Political Economy 94
Owatonna, MN 81, 163

P

Pabst 5
Papal States 78
"Parallel Waters" 162
Parker, Rev. Theodore 198
Park Rapids, MN 183, 192
Passaic, NJ 41
Pastorius, Franz Daniel 9, 29-31, 36-42
patent medicine ads 61
Paterson 9, 41-2
Paterson, NJ 41-2
The Patriot (Watkins, MN) 192, 194
Peach Tree area (Gettysburg) 119
"Peanuts" 5
Pell, Captain John H. 119
Penn Mutual Insurance Company 108
Pennsylvania anthracite coal 94
Penn, William 9, 26, 38-9, 228
Pernambuco 29
Perpich, Governor Rudy 188
Pershing II missiles 144
Peru 26-8
Peteler, Captain Francis 20, 120
Pfaender, William 118, 126, 203
Pflaume, Karl 227
Philadelphia 31, 40, 47, 97, 108
Philadelphia and Reading Railway 94
Philadelphische Zeitung 47
Pickal, Wally 190
Picketts Charge 120, 124
Pierz, Father 118
pietism 38
"Pigs-Eye" 149
"Pittsburgh Lagerbier-Saloon" 61
Pizarro 27
Plannck and Silber 26
Poland
Pomerania
Portugal, Portuguese explorers 25, 27-9
Post-Dampfschiffe 104
potato raising 16-18
Potomac campaigns 128
Pottgieser, Nicholaus J. Saloon 75
Poznan 168
Princeton, MN 41
Principall Navigations 25
Probstfield, Randolph 20-1
prohibition 52
promotional tracts 9
Proshan, Chester 10, 168, 181
Protestant English colonies 9
Die Protestantische Ethik 158
Protestant Reformation Germany 29
Providence, RI 27
Prussia 12, 78, 82, 168-9, 212-3, 215
Prussian army records 215
Ptolemy's 'Geography' 24

Q

Quakers 4, 228

R

Radlers Tagebuch. The Diary of a Cyclist 187
Die Raeuber 81
Ralegh, Sir Walter 30
Ramsey, Alexander 107, 118-9, 126, 129
Ramsey County 117-8
Ramsey County Democratic Convention 77
Rankin, Diana 157, 161
Raster, Herman 47
Reagan, Ronald 5
Reck, Michael L. 161, 163
Reconstruction 49, 76, 83
"Recruit Cohort" 146-7, 150-1, 154
Red River Ox Carts 73
Red River Valley 20
Red Wing, MN 81
Redwood River 129
Reformed churches (of Germany) 96
Reform Movement, Jewish 169, 173, 176
Regiomontanus 25
"Religious and Language Experiences of German-Catholic Americans" 10
Renaissance 23-4
Renville County 118, 125
"The Renville Raiders" 125
Republican party 12, 40, 51, 73, 76-7, 82-3, 118, 197, 202, 226
Reutlingen 94
Revolution of 1848 (in Germany) 51, 118, 226
Rhine gold 22
Rhineland 20, 22-3, 26, 29, 118, 212, 228
Rhode Island 31
Rice County 117
Rice Lake, MN 163
Richmond 121, 123
Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich 225
Ringmann 23
Rio de la Plata 28
Rippley, La Vern 6, 12, 15-6, 94-115
Rivero 28
Roanoke 30
Robbins, Dorothy 6
Rochester, MN 81
Roesnitz 213, 215
Rohr, Philip 65
Roman Catholic churchmen 10-11
Rose, Isidor 175
Rosicrucian literature 30
Rotary Club 118
Rotterdam 213
Russia 39, 216
Russian Germans 211
Ruth, Babe 5
Rutherford, Kathy 189

S

Sabin, MN 16
Saffert, Andreas 61
Salewski, Michael 227
Sanborn, General John B. 99
St. Anthony, MN 133, 160, 208
St. Cloud, MN 12, 20, 120
St. Cloud *Democrat* 118
St. Columbia, MN 160
St. John's Abbey 10-11, 146-155, 190
St. John's Lutheran Church (Baytown, MN) 159
St. Joseph, MN 125, 183
St. Lawrence River 198
St. Louis 10, 47, 80, 123, 145, 170
St. Louis County 176-8
St. Martin's Lutheran Church (Winona) 159
St. Paul 10, 19-20, 80, 97, 104-6, 110, 117, 175, 203-8

238

St. Paul Cathedral 151-4
St. Paul Diocese 10, 145-55
St. Paul *Dispatch* 68, 110
St. Paul *Globe* 105
St. Paul Musical Society 82
St. Paul *Press* 68-70, 101
St. Paul Roller Mills 100
St. Paul's diocesan seminary 147, 154
St. Paul Volunteers 119
St. Peter, MN 125-6, 160
St. Peter's Lutheran Church (Delmont, SD) 165
St. Philipp of Austria 26
San Diego, CA 110
Sauk Centre, MN 125
Sauk Rapids, MN 12
Scandinavian American banks 110
Scandinavian heritage 4, 7, 110
Schell and Bernard brewery 206
von Schenkendorf, Max 80
Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrick 81
Schiller-Goethe celebration 202
Schiller Monument Committee 104, 108
Schmidel, Ulrich 28-9
Schmidt, Jacob, Brewing Company 15
Schmidt's Creek 198
Schoenecken, Prussia 12
Schönemann, Anna Elizabeth 39
Schons, Paul 19, 133-141
Schröder, J.N. 73
Schroeder, Ernest 16
Schroeder, Henry 16, 18
Schuhplattler 136
Schulz, Charles 5
Schulze, Karl 162
Schurz, Carl 47, 104, 118, 226
Schützenfest 135
Schutzenkünig 135
Schwarzwald-Haus 6
Searle, F.E. 14
Second Minnesota Regiment 120-2
Seesen 15
Selected Letters (W.C. Williams) 9, 41
Selke, Esther 156, 158
Selkirk Colony 149
Seventh Minnesota Regiment 129
Seward, William H. 54
Shakopee, MN 138
Shapiro, Max 176
Shapiro, Peter 176
Sharri Tov 170-1
Shenandoah Valley 31
Shepard, Captain Myron 119
Sherman's March to the Sea 120
Shillock, Daniel George 21, 196-210
Sibley, Henry H. 126
Sibley County 117
Sickles, General 119
von Siegfried, Dr. Oskar 8, 142-44
Sievers, Ferdinand 160
Silesia 9, 41, 213, 215
Silesius, Angelus 80
Sioux Uprising 19, 49, 51, 54, 116-130, 125, 197, 203-4
Sisseton Sioux 129
Sitting Bull 54
Sixth Minnesota Regiment 126, 139
Skjervold, Christian K. 6
slavery issue 19
Slovenian German 118
"Sonntags-Blatt" editions 55
South America 9, 23-31
South Carolina 170
Southern planters 118
Soviet Union 144
Spain 9, 23, 25-9
Spanish Netherlands 25
Spar-Bank 102
A Special Relationship 5, 7-8, 10-11, 21, 194
Speyer 175
Sprachklub 139
Sproegel 38, 40
Staden, Hans 29
Stammtisch German American Club 124
Stanton, Edwin M. 74
Starr, Karen 15
State Savings Bank of St. Paul 108
Staub, Rev. Clemens 67, 74
Stearns County 12, 117-8
Stearns County Historical Society 14
Stearns-Morison Enterprise 192
Steinway 5
Stella 39
Stevens, Thaddeus 74
Stevens, Walter 108
Stevenson, J.F. 14
Stillwater, MN 119, 138
Straits of Anian 25
Strassburg 26, 39
Straubing 28
Stuttgart 95
Sunday laws 52, 68, 203
Swedes 4, 38, 95, 110
Swedish North America 29
Sweeney painting 148
Swiss 149, 199, 213
Swisshelm, Jane Grey 118
Switzerland 4, 138, 143-4

T

Tabula Directionum 25
Tagliche Volkszeitung (St. Paul-Minneapolis) 48, 51
Tanz in der Mai 139
Tellner, Jacob 37
temperance, temperance laws 49, 52, 203
Temple Emanuel (Duluth) 176
Temple Israel (Minneapolis) 171, 173
Tennessee Valley campaigns 120, 128
Texas 40, 68, 137, 198
Theatrum Orbis Terrarum 25
They Chose Minnesota 95
Third Minnesota Regiment 19, 121, 129
Thomas, General George 120
Thrower, Norman 24
Timme, H.A. 66
Timme Brothers 66
Tolksdorf, Mathilda 21, 196-210
Tower, MN 177-8
Treaty of Traverse des Sioux 116, 118, 158
Treusdell, E.W. 14
Tricentennial 5, 7, 9
Trinity Lutheran Church (St. Paul) 156, 159-60
Tri-State Telephone Company 58
True Description 29
Tupi cannibals 28
"Turners," Turner Clubs 19, 49, 51, 133
Turnvereins 19, 134
Turner Hall, New Ulm 134
Tyrol, Ferdinand, Archduke of 26

U

Über ein sächsiches Eisenbahn-System 94
Uml 27
Ullman, Amelia 172
Ullman, Joseph 172, 175
Union army 51
Union war effort 19, 49, 54, 119
University of Bohemia 170
University of Freiburg 22-3
University of Göttingen 227
University of Minnesota 10, 22, 172
University of Minnesota Research Institute 12, 110
University of Tübingen 94, 175
Upham, Warren 110
Upper Sioux Agency 125, 128-9
U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare 216

V

Vander Horck, Captain John 20-1
Venezuela 22, 26-8
Verndale, MN 183
Vespucci, Amerigo 22
Vesputius, Americus 22
Vetter, Heinrich 162
Vicksburg 99, 125, 127
Victoria, MN 135
Victoria, TX 198
Victoria Sports Club 135
Vienna 85, 175
Vienna Tagesblatt 85
Virginia 9, 29, 31, 123
Virginia, MN 177
Volkfest Association of Minnesota 6, 136
Volkszeitung (St. Paul) 49, 52, 56-7
Volkszeitung Building 65

W

Wabasha County 117
Wabasha Volunteers 119
Wabashaw Block 79
WCCO 192
Wadena, MN 183
Wagner, Richard 22-3
Wahpeton Sioux 129
Waldsee 5, 189
Waldseemüller, Martin 9, 22-5
Wallenstein Tod 81
Der Wanderer 11-12, 64-93
The Wanderer 11, 64, 71
Wanderjahre 9, 39-40
Die Wandertour 5, 8
Die Wandertour durch Deutsch-Minnesota. Handbuck für Gruppenleiter 187
Ward, Don 168
Warhafftige Beschreibung 38
Wahrheitsfreund 118
Washington County 117
Washington, D.C. 52, 119
Weber, Ellen 6
Weber, Max 158
Wechsler, Rabbi Judah 174
Wegweiser zur Wandertour. A Guide to the Historical and Cultural Background of the Wandertour through German-Minnesota 187-8
Weimar Republic 169
Weinsberg 225
Weiskopf, Leopold 170
Weiskopf, Rosa 170
Weiss, Gerhard 11, 47-61
Welsers 9, 26-8
Wentz, Abdel 157
West, J.E. 14
West Germany 212, 216
West Indies 24
Westermann, William 14
Westphalia 118, 212
Weyerhaeuser 5
White Mule 9, 41
Wier, Wilhelm 159
Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre 9, 39-41
Wilhelm Tell 81
Williams, J. Fletcher 68
Williams, Roger 31
Williams, William Carlos 9, 36, 41-2
Willigang 75
Willius Brothers and Dunbar 98, 101
Willius, Ferdinand 12, 97
Willius, Frederick 97
Willius, Gustav 12, 97
Wilson, Captain Eugene M. 126
Winnipeg 149
Winona America Herold und Lincoln Freie Presse 48
Winona County 117
Winona, MN 19, 81, 119, 121, 159
Winthrop, John Jr. 30
Winthrop, MN 192
Wintner, Rabbi Dr. Leopole
Wisconsin 68, 177, 199, 227
Wisconsin Banner 49
Wisconsin Synod 158-61, 163-4
Wolff, Albert 48-9, 51, 65
Wolkerstorfer, Sister John Christine 19, 116-132
Women's Page *(Volkszeitung* of St. Paul) 52
women's suffrage 85-6
Wood Lake, MN 126
World Affairs Center (U of M) 6
World's Fair of 1904 16
World War I 4, 9, 41, 47, 52, 54, 61, 110, 190
World War II 7, 95, 136, 142, 144, 156, 211
World Wars 5, 156
Wright County 117
Württemberg 94, 168, 212, 225
Würzburg 174

X, Y, Z

Die Yankee-Deutschen 70
Yankee neighbors 52, 83
Yellow Medicine 128
yeshivot 169
Yiddish 169
Yorktown 199
Zapp, Edward A. 14
Zapp, Edward J. 14
Zapp, John 12-14
Zapp's Loan Bank 13
Zapp National Bank 12
Zapp's State Bank 13
Zion Lutheran Church (Sanborn, MN) 164
Zinzendorf, Count 39
Zollverein 94

240

Photo Index

Page	Source
5-6	International Language Villages, Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota
8	International Language Villages, Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota
11-12	International Language Villages, Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota
13-15	Zapp National Bank, St. Cloud, Minnesota
13	Casselton State Bank, North Dakota
16-18	Stephen E. Schroeder, Glyndon, Minnesota
19	International Language Villages, Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota
20-21	Red River Heritage Society, Moorhead, Minnesota
28	Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
30	Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
37-38	*Three Hundred Years of German Immigrants in North America*
48-61	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
64-66	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
67	St. John's Abbey Archives, Collegeville, Minnesota
69-75	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
77-79	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
81-82	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
84-86	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
95	Stephen E. Schroeder, Glyndon, Minnesota
96-107	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
109	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
111	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
116-117	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
119-130	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
133	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
134	New Ulm *Journal*
135-138	Concord Singers, New Ulm, Minnesota
139	College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota
141	Minnesota *Germanfest*
143-144	International Language Villages, Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota
145	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
148-154	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
156	*Geschichte der Minnesota Synode*
157	*Missouri in Minnesota*
159	*Geschichte der Minnesota Synode*
160	*Missouri in Minnesota*
160	*Golden Jubilee History*
161	*Geschichte der Minnesota Synode*
162-163	*Missouri In Minnesota*
164	*You and Your Synod*
164	*Emanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church Custom Book*
165	*7th Anniversary: St. Peter Lutheran Church*, Delmont, South Dakota
170	Project to Document Jewish Settlers in Minnesota
171	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
171	Temple Israel, Minneapolis, Minnesota
171-175	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
173	Project to Document Jewish Settlers in Minnesota
176-177	Project to Document Jewish Settlers in Minnesota
182-194	International Language Villages, Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota
196-197	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
201-204	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
205-206	Brown County Historical Society, New Ulm, Minnesota
208	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
212-222	Family Tree Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota
225-228	*Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration, 1683-1983*